

UNIVERSAL  
LIBRARY



101 776

UNIVERSAL  
LIBRARY

---

## **Keep Your Card in This Pocket**

---

Books will be issued only on presentation of proper library cards.

Unless labeled otherwise, books may be retained for two weeks. Borrowers finding books marked, defaced or mutilated are expected to report same at library desk; otherwise the last borrower will be held responsible for all imperfections discovered.

The card holder is responsible for all books drawn on this card.

Penalty for over-due books 2c a day plus cost of notices.

Lost cards and change of residence must be reported promptly.



**Public Library**  
**Kansas City, Mo.**

---

## **Keep Your Card in This Pocket**

---







# TAMING PHILIPPINE HEADHUNTERS

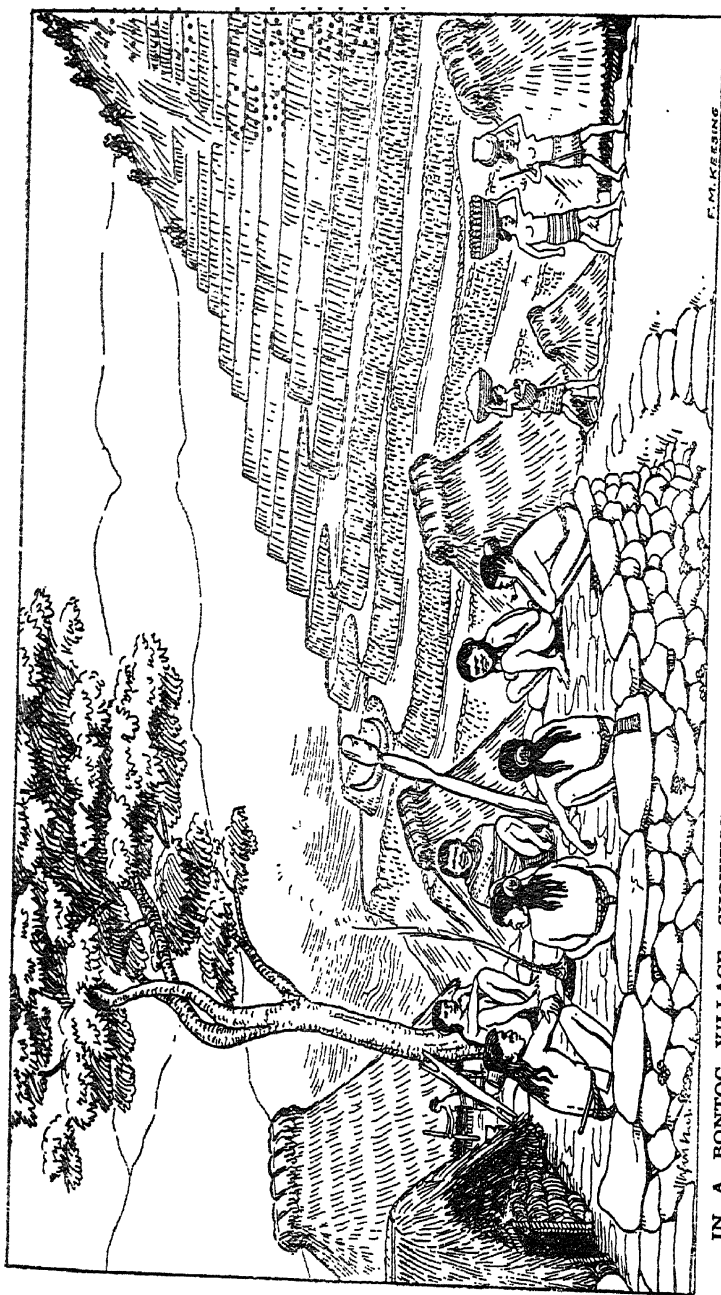
*By Felix M. Keesing*  
**MODERN SAMOA**  
Its Government and Changing Life

*Maps and Diagrams*

"A remarkably thorough and encyclopaedic work, in which serious students will find a detailed survey of the history and conditions of an island community still comparatively little known to the average European."

*Daily Telegraph*





IN A BONTOC VILLAGE, SHOWING AN ATO PLATFORM, HOUSES, AND IRRIGATED TERRACES

F. M. KEESING

# *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

A STUDY OF GOVERNMENT AND OF  
CULTURAL CHANGE IN NORTHERN LUZON

BY

*Felix M. Keesing, M.A., D.Litt.*

AND

*Marie Keesing, B.A.*

RESEARCH STAFF  
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

*Theodore Roosevelt*

FORMER GOVERNOR-GENERAL  
OF THE PHILIPPINES

*Stanford University Press  
Stanford University, California*

*All rights reserved*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY  
UNWIN BROTHERS LTD., WOKING

# CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
FOREWORD	9
INTRODUCTION	15
I. NON-CHRISTIANS IN THE PHILIPPINE SETTING	21
II. THE MOUNTAIN REGION AND ITS PEOPLES	34
III. SPANISH AND AMERICAN PENETRATION	62
IV. OVER THE ADMINISTRATOR'S DESK	97
V. JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER	132
VI. NATURE'S GIFTS OF LAND AND WATER	160
VII. FOOD-GETTING AND COMMERCE	185
VIII. MISSIONS AND HEALTH AUTHORITIES VERSUS THE OLD RELIGION	225
IX. THROUGH THE SCHOOL DOOR	242
X. THE FUTURE OF THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLES	269
BIBLIOGRAPHY	280
INDEX	284





## FOREWORD

WHY this study of a section of the so-called "non-Christian" peoples of the Philippine Islands, the mountaineers of northern Luzon?

The writers were invited by the Philippine Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations to make a study in that archipelago, as part of a research project being conducted under the auspices of the International Research Committee of that Institute, and dealing with "Dependencies and Native Peoples in the Pacific." The non-Christian peoples were selected, not because the various Christian groups failed to offer problems of modern adjustment tempting to the student of race and culture, and puzzling to those charged with the tasks of government, but rather because they offered a closer parallel with other groups being studied under the project. Even an independent Philippines will have them to deal with for long as more or less dependent peoples within its borders—they are, so to speak, the colonial problem of the Filipino.

This preliminary decision made, it was necessary to choose a special non-Christian area in which to work. A survey of the whole non-Christian population, comprising over a million individuals, and of the effectiveness of government policies in dealing with their affairs, would prove quite impossible except in very general terms. They are scattered widely over the islands, their customs and conditions of living vary greatly, and administrative methods and problems differ correspondingly.

The mountain peoples of northern Luzon were chosen rather than the Mohammedan and "pagan" groups of the southern islands as showing more clearly to the present the results of government activities, and of cultural penetration from Christian areas. Situated as they are on the principal

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

island within a comparatively short distance from the capital city, Manila, they have been subjected since the late sixteenth century to Spanish influences and a desultory Spanish penetration, followed in the latest century by an intensive American and Filipino control. Further, their territory actually adjoins the most densely populated area of the Philippines, the Ilocos coast, homeland of the most energetic and culturally aggressive of the Filipinos. This offers material for a study in cultural contact and assimilation which, added to the data on official control and direction, should prove of great importance in judging the likely future of non-Christian groups in the islands. Mindanao, Sulu, Palawan, and Mindoro are by contrast still largely frontier areas. At least in the case of certain Mohammedan Moro groups the governmental problem remains yet at the stage of achieving a complete pacification.

In all some five months were spent by the writers in the Philippines. One month was used to cover historical, ethnological, and official records in Manila, and the remainder passed in the mountain region of northern Luzon itself, in direct touch with the non-Christians, the officials responsible for their affairs, and Christian migrants to the area. Since the mountains are vast and rugged, and the majority of native settlements are far from the existing roads, certain districts were chosen as samples for closer study: mainly in Bontoc, Lepanto, Apayao, and Benguet sub-provinces, though short visits were also made to Kalinga and Ifugao. Official reports of many kinds were consulted at the provincial capital, Bontoc, and some of the sub-provincial capitals. The writers were fortunate in that, through the interest of members of the Philippine constabulary, they were able to work in Apayao, one of the most inaccessible and least visited portions of the Philippines due to its lack of communications and its extensive malarial jungles. As the home of that little known people, the Isneg, also of pigmy folk, and

## *Foreword*

still more as a potentially rich land now being settled by Christian Filipino homesteaders along its margins, though not without resistance by the natives, it has a special significance.

Acknowledgements must be made in particular to members of the Philippine Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, notably to Judge Manuel Camus, its chairman, President Rafael Palma of the University of the Philippines, and Deans Conrado Benitez and Francisco Benitez of the same institution, through whose interest the project was initiated; to Professor H. Otley Beyer of the anthropology department, University of the Philippines, whose advice guided the study and who made available his remarkable store of knowledge and of manuscript collections dealing with the mountain peoples; to Colonel W. E. Dossier, governor of the Mountain Province, and to the deputy-governors and other staff members under him who gave every aid possible, also allowing fullest access to documents; to the many constabulary officers and men, district treasurers, school teachers, members of the health service, and native officials, unfortunately too numerous to mention by name, who helped in the field work, and were without exception friendly and hospitable; to those workers in the various missions who were always ready to share their valuable experience; and to the great number of non-Christians who bore patiently the fire of questions from two inquisitive strangers.

Finally, it will be understood that, while the study was made under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the responsibility for statements of fact or opinion expressed lies with the authors.

F. M. K.  
M. K.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

### A NOTE ON THE TERM "NON-CHRISTIAN"

THE use of this term as applied to a considerable number of the Philippine people requires a preliminary explanation.

Emerging in Spanish times as a general word, *no-cristiano*, along with *infiel* (infidel), to refer to those groups which resisted Christianization, it was adopted reluctantly by the early American administrators for want of a better collective name. "Wild peoples," another early mode of reference, as in the Philippine census of 1903, was rejected as inaccurate, for numbers were gentle and comparatively civilized. Some later writers have followed former Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes in calling them "tribal peoples." But by ethnological standards the word "tribal" conveys an erroneous impression of the social life of many or most groups, whose identity is based on the autonomous kinship, or small community unit. Another recent usage, "minority groups," is quite useful, but could apply equally much to some ten or more small but distinct ethnic groups among the Christian population which do not, however, constitute a like administrative problem.

In accepting for the sake of convenience the current term, "non-Christian," in this study, it is desirable to point out clearly that the word has a historical, cultural, and political rather than a purely religious significance. It refers to recognized members of some eight Mohammedan groups, and twenty-two or more so-called pagan groups which cling more or less to their indigenous religious beliefs and ceremonies. Each is clearly distinguishable by its geographic location and ethnic characteristics; while all have as a common historical bond the fact of refusing to submit in any great degree to the Spanish mission efforts and politico-

## *Foreword*

military domination, and as a present basis of unity the existence of special legislative policies to safeguard and promote their interests. Many individuals classified as non-Christians to-day are loyal adherents of Christian sects. Others tracing descent wholly or in part from the non-Christian groups are not included, as they have passed out from the society of their more conservative fellows and are classified as members of the Christian communities where they live.

The connotation here given is also that recognized by the government authorities. This is shown by a circular (No. 37, 1927) issued by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes dealing with the subject "Misinterpretation of the Term, Non-Christian." It points out that the word has neither a literal meaning nor a religious significance, "as it was intended to relate to degree of civilization, . . . to geographical area, and more directly to the natives of the Philippine Islands of a low grade of civilization"—in other words, to groups which have retained their old ways as against the newer patterns of Spanish-Filipino-American life.



## INTRODUCTION

DR. and MRS. KEESING have dealt in able and restrained fashion with one of the most perplexing problems that is confronting an ever-expanding world.

Roughly speaking, colonies divide themselves into two classes. The first comprises those wherein the country is mostly uninhabited and where the indigenes are few in number. These automatically, if climate permits, are populated by nationals of the mother-country. As time passes they either become an integral part of that country, as did the western territories of the United States, or tend towards a dominion status, such as Canada. In this latter instance they become, to all intents and purposes, an allied nation closely linked to the mother-country by speech, customs, and interest.

The second class of colonies is infinitely more difficult, and the problems that arise therefrom are complex in the extreme. They comprise the group where there is an indigenous population of large size and very often a high, though different, culture. In this latter class nationals of the mother-country cannot breed out the indigenous strains. At most one may expect after long periods of occupation a small percentage of intermingling which does no more than modify slightly the indigenous population's ethnological composition and culture, without making the country close in the great essentials to the mother-nation. Under these circumstances inclusion as an integral part of the nation is impossible, and a dominion status difficult to attain.

The Philippines, with which the authors deal, come in this class. The Islands were under Spanish dominion for some three hundred years. During that period certain notable results were attained. The vast majority of the people became Christians, the vast majority were influenced

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

to a greater or lesser degree by European civilization and codes. Then came the thirty odd years of American occupation. Again a very strong foreign influence was brought to bear on the people. The western aspect of education was put into practice in the Islands, and has unquestionably become, at least in its main ideals, a definite part of Filipino belief.

Meanwhile, through trade relationships of a preferential nature, the prosperity of the Islands has been raised to such an extent that the standard of living of the average individual is much higher than those in the surrounding countries.

There is, therefore, in the Philippines an anomaly—a nation to all intents and purposes entirely oriental in blood, with cultural beliefs, religion, and governmental machinery more akin to the west than to the east.

Very naturally with the rise of the Filipinos in development and ability there has strengthened the desire for a separate existence from any foreign country. They are people of pride and courage, and therefore do not wish to contemplate a future, no matter how prosperous, in which they are in an inferior position politically to a foreign people.

All of the above must be taken into account when dealing with the problem here outlined.

Personally, I believe that for the mountain people, the non-Christians as they are called, the ultimate solution should be assimilation. By assimilation, however, I do not mean that they should be submerged. If such a policy is carried out wisely and with sufficient flexibility, nothing of the sort need occur.

Individuals in a community differ very greatly one from another, and still are able through holding to general broad concepts which they have in common to work together cohesively as a community. What holds true of individuals holds true of groups as well. Sufficient similarity in beliefs



## *Introduction*

and customs can be attained to permit of integration as a part of a united Philippines without striving for identity in every feature.

Most governmental policies and human adjustments are questions of degree. Take, for example, religion. I believe I am safe in saying that the great religions which have spread through the world have rarely entirely exterminated the religion which they found. They absorb and dominate the indigenous religion, but it in turn modifies them. Our own Christian religion has not even at this time exterminated entirely the beliefs of our pagan ancestors. In our customary life there crop up every day actions and beliefs that date back to the times when our ancestors, clad in skins, wandered through the great forests of northern Europe. Popular celebrations in the country districts often hold over from those times.

In the Philippines as here this is true. In the rural districts particularly old customs and folk-lore form an integral part of everyday life. I believe that eventually some such process as this may take place among the mountain-folk. They will become Christians, preserving still a substratum of old customs and beliefs.

In like fashion various governmental ideals can infiltrate among them and be modified and adapted by tribal custom and culture. From it all can emerge a Philippine community loyal to the rest of the Philippines but retaining still its individuality.

I have used both "can" and "may" in describing this assimilation that I have outlined, for its attainment will be difficult, and is only possible by patient and wise administration over a long period of time. Governmental measures must not be rigid, but must be in such form as to permit of change to meet local needs.

For example, the authors wisely point out that we must not confound the stereotyped western education with what

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

may be necessary in the mountain provinces. Education in the broad sense is training to fit individuals for the battle of life. Where conditions are different, different training is clearly indicated. In the mountain provinces education must involve primarily training in such matters as hygiene, home economics, agriculture, etc.

Again, this education in turn must be adapted to local circumstances. I once found in Puerto Rico classes of small girls in the mountains being trained to use stoves and cooking utensils which never were found in their homes and which they would never be in a financial position to obtain. The folly of this is evident. Courses in the subjects I have indicated should be prepared only by people thoroughly conversant with the modes of life and needs of the people they are hoping to serve.

By the same token, the authors speak of the absence of the children during the planting season and the harvesting. Their suggestion that they should be given school credit therefor is well worthy of consideration. During my term as Governor-General of the Philippines I arranged that vacation periods might be set by provinces rather than for the archipelago. I did this because of this very problem. We generally tend to be too rigid. We have accustomed ourselves to the thought that all vacations should come at the same periods, and we lose sight of the fact that the schools should serve the community, not the community the schools.

Education, however, is only one of the many aspects that the problem does and will present to any who may be trying honestly to solve it.

It is idle to deny that many prejudices must be overcome. At present there is a strong social line drawn between Christian Filipinos and non-Christians. A non-Christian is not received as a social equal. He cannot marry among the Christians. Even when he becomes Christian by religion

## *Introduction*

this demarcation continues. A young girl from the lowlands who marries a mountaineer considers that she has married beneath her. Naturally the marriage is likely to be a failure.

Again, the government of the Philippine Islands in its elected branches and in the vast majority of its appointive offices is conducted by lowland Filipinos. This government contributes funds every year for the maintenance of the mountain provinces. Filipino politicians are no different from others, and government positions are always in demand. Quite naturally there is a continued pressure from lowland Filipinos for positions in the mountain provinces which might better be given to educated mountaineers. This will always stand as a severe stumbling-block in the way of a policy which has as its end administering the mountain provinces with mountaineers.

Viewing this entire question from the standpoint of probability rather than the desired ideal, my judgment would be that assimilation would probably to a large extent depopulate the mountains. The type of agriculture pursued in those regions necessitates great labour with small return. It cannot support a high standard of living. What is more, I do not believe the country is adapted for any other type. The result of education is always to create a demand in the individual for more of the amenities of life. Education and contact will both work towards emigration.

I believe that we should aim at the ideal and come as close as circumstances might permit. This, I think, is what the authors believe. Their book is a genuine contribution to knowledge, and should be extremely useful for those who must administer the mountain provinces in the days to come.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT



# TAMING PHILIPPINE HEADHUNTERS

## CHAPTER I

### NON-CHRISTIANS IN THE PHILIPPINE SETTING

A VISITOR to the Philippines gets a first impression of rugged, forest-clad mountains towering out of the tropic ocean. Nearer, there come into sight the lowlands and plains of the coastal region. The latter are the dwelling-place of the great bulk of the Filipino people: green with fields of rice or sugar, dotted with villages and towns, resonant with the clang of church bells and the busy stir of the plaza markets, and criss-crossed by a network of roads that lead in toward one or other of the great city ports.

Yet the mountains and other less accessible places are not uninhabited. Comprising from one-half to two-thirds of the total area of the archipelago, they are the home of many scattered peoples, the "non-Christians" who make up approximately one-eleventh of the Philippines population. Mohammedanized groups, usually called Moros, occupy the Sulu archipelago in the extreme south. They dwell also in the islands of Mindanao and Palawan, where their territory adjoins that of "pagan" groups inhabiting the mountain forests. Away north in the main island of Luzon are the rice terracing "pagans" of the high cordilleras. Semi-nomadic folk and remnant pigmy groups likewise inhabit the foothills, upper river valleys and impassable swamps. Here and there are people once more or less Christianized but now reverted to their former state, due either to cessation of mission work or to their unwillingness to submit in earlier times to the burdens of Spanish taxation

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

and control. Within clear sight of the capital, Manila, itself are mountain regions where live folk hardly affected during the four and a half centuries of western rule from that centre.

To understand how this remarkable diversity has come about, and to show in its perspective the problem with which this study deals, it seems essential to reiterate something of the story of the islands.

### *The Philippines and their People*

The Philippine archipelago of to-day may be described as lying geographically off the coast of Asia, politically along the edge of United States sovereignty, commercially within the American tariff wall, and humanly in a varying position between Malaysia, India, Arabia, China, Japan, Spain, Spanish America, and the United States.

A student of the human history of the islands has two methods of procedure open to him. He may take the polished Manilan of to-day and, in theory, peel off by generations the successive layers of American, European, and Asian influence that have gone to his making. Or else he can leave the city boulevards and suburbs, working back through the rural districts and finally up on to the great peaks and mountain ranges, finding as he goes a fairly complete sequence of living representatives of the historical process in its different stages—the degreed university man and woman, often of complex mixture in race and culture, the Chinese or Japanese *mestizo* (i.e. mixed blood) trader, the *cacique*, or large landowner, probably of part-Spanish blood, the descendants of “Macabebes” from Mexico, the mass of peasant-folk whose life centres round the local kin group, a subsistence agriculture, and either medieval Catholicism or the loyalties of local Filipino sects and societies, and finally the numerous non-Christian communities.

## *Non-Christians in the Philippine Setting*

An essential of understanding the Philippine peoples (or people) is to gauge how far they are homogeneous, how far diverse. There is not space in this study to outline the opinions of experts on this matter, or the accumulated somatological, ethnological, archaeological, linguistic, and historical data on which these are based. Certain facts, however, must be recognized in the interests of clear thinking. In the first place a statement by an earnest exponent of Filipino nationalism before the United States Congress must be rejected, namely, that:

"These differences in religion and civilization are the natural result of the political situation which the Filipino people have been forced to endure for the last 300 years. . . . The most effective way to subjugate a people is first to divide them against themselves."

It is likewise misreading history and refusing to observe present conditions to claim that the Filipino people are of the same Malayan racial origin with differences of comparative insignificance, and hence that they stand together culturally as one people to-day. On the other hand it is equally extreme and dangerous to overstress the differences which an ethnologist or linguist finds not only among the isolated tribesfolk, but also between the Christianized groups of the plains—Visayan, Tagalog, Ilocano, Bikol, Pampango, Pangasinan, and the rest—and to disregard the fusions and adjustments brought about by modern intercourse and government, together with a heritage of Indo-Malay character and custom that lies at the base of the human whole.

With Formosa to the north and Borneo, Java, and the other islands of the Indies to the south, the Philippines have formed a kind of outer trap or net around that restless home of humanity in bulk, Asia. Coming first across land bridges which connected Malaysia with that continent

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

during the last great ice age and which now lie beneath the shallow Java and South China seas, later by canoes and ships driven either purposefully or at the mercy of winds and currents, group after group of peoples diverse in physical and cultural characteristics arrived within them. Some passed on to New Guinea, Australia, and the Pacific Islands. Many, however, stayed and, mingling with those who had come before, became mixed in turn with those who followed. Traders and adventurers from the great oriental civilizations left their impress upon the archipelago. Then from the sixteenth century on came further seafarers from distant Europe and America. By to-day, as a result, lines of race have become blurred and crossed to a point of great heterogeneity. On the cultural side, while certain elements of the later invasions penetrated widely, and in some instances all but universally—as for example the working of metals, words from the Spanish language, and American political institutions—there has remained a like diversity in speech and custom. Moreover the social organization of all the earlier peoples was based on the kinship group or small defensive community without the development of larger political unities, thus fostering a strong sense of local exclusiveness. The original differences thus tended to be preserved and developed rather than broken down, at least until recent years. On the whole, Filipino life must be judged as having had neither the traditional immobility of the major oriental cultures nor the fresh passion for progress of the occident: malleable where change suited its purpose, or was forced upon it, each unit group resisted unnecessary change.

Under such conditions it can be understood why various portions of the islands, and in time the whole archipelago, became fairly easily subject to the domination of unified and organized alien states.

Control by outsiders began long before the arrival of



## *Non-Christians in the Philippine Setting*

the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> From perhaps the third century A.D. there penetrated into the islands of Sulu, Mindanao, the Visayas, and southern Luzon a successive dominion by the great Indo-Malayan empire of Sri-Vishaya and the later Javanese empire of Madjapahit. This was followed in the fifteenth century by control from Mohammedan strongholds in Malacca and Brunei. The Chinese and Japanese, enjoying a busy commerce with the islands, each aspired to conquer and colonize portions of them. The process of Mohammedan and oriental invasion, however, was interrupted in the sixteenth century with the arrival of the Spanish colonizers. Like the Portuguese, Dutch, and English in their respective portions of Malaysia, they gave the political welding of the Philippines a European mould.

Over much of the archipelago the old local organization was rudely crushed, the Spanish state and church combining a spirit of stern discipline with a missionizing fervour. Group after group were subjected to the point of paying tribute. The Catholicism of the time became fully accepted into the life of the people, especially as they were concentrated into towns and *barrios* (villages). The law of the Indies was superimposed on native customary law. A pattern of common "Hispano-Filipino" civilization emerged over and above all the local differences of speech and manners. Within an incredibly short time, mainly in the three decades from 1565, the handful of Spanish officials, soldiers, and missionaries had brought the peoples of the lowlands under virtually complete subjection. But here their influence stopped. The peoples of the less accessible regions, hostile to all inroads from the coastal areas, were by no means so amenable to the new influences, and those

<sup>1</sup> G. N. Steiger, H. O. Beyer, and C. Benitez, *A History of the Orient*, Boston, 1926; H. O. Beyer, *The Philippines Before Magellan*, in *Asia Magazine*, October, 1921; also *A Tabular History of the Philippine Population* (typescript).

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

to the south whose lives had previously become re-organized in a similar way around the Mohammedan faith were prepared to wage aggressive warfare against the Christian, whether Spaniard or Filipino. Apart, therefore, from occasional expeditions for exploration or punitive purposes, and in some places the sporadic maintenance of military or mission posts, Spanish control over large regions was nominal only. They remained the home of the *no-cristianos*.

Toward the end of the Spanish regime this long-standing situation tended to be reversed. From 1850 on the authorities began a more determined effort to bring such peoples into subjection. War vessels using steam patrolled coasts hitherto ravaged by Moro raids, and carried the offensive into the southern seas. Expeditions penetrated isolated mountain strongholds and, under protection of Spanish and Filipino soldiers, administrative and mission headquarters were established at strategic points. Just at this very time, however, Spain began to lose her grip over the Christianized peoples. Sporadic local uprisings gave place to organized movements for reform of and later for freedom from the pressures of official and ecclesiastical control. Leaders who had won education in the face of Spanish discouragement vocalized the wrongs and needs of the people. The events that culminated in the overthrow of Spain and the acquisition of sovereignty by the United States were under way.

The American commissioners and administrators responsible for framing Philippine policies from 1898 on were faced with a dual task: first, to institute a system of government for the Christian Filipinos consistent with their advancement and aspirations; second, to devise means to complete the work begun by Spain in pacifying and civilizing the "wild peoples." Further, it was conceived that the United States had a broad mission of giving to the Filipino population as a whole the benefits of western progress in the form of schooling for the children, health work, and

## *Non-Christians in the Philippine Setting*

communications, economic development, the democratic spirit, and security of life and property—a cultural imperialism at almost every point a complete antithesis of Spain's policy toward the *Indio*.

The methods used by successive American administrations toward fulfilling these ends are, with the exception perhaps of dealings with the non-Christian peoples, both widely known and well recorded. The results to the present in the form of political and economic achievements and problems are especially familiar because of the publicity given them in discussions of the "independence issue."

Nevertheless it would seem to the writers that the full significance of the modern Philippines experience is by no means always appreciated, or else tends to be obscured by practical and immediate questions that, of course, are of undeniable importance. In broadest terms the problem of the Philippines is whether, out of such diverse human material as yet but imperfectly fused in terms of race, and from a basically Malayan culture which by general repute is considered unstable, hostile to the development of the larger political unities and loyalties, a people and a nation can be welded. In this sense the islands can be looked at as one of the main contemporary testing grounds for biological and social problems, a region full of significance in a world of empires and of human heterogeneity. In more specific terms the main elements of the Philippines experience can be indicated in the form of a series of questions. Can a patriarchal and feudal heritage, with its local bonds of dialect, custom, and loyalty, be nationalized and made democratic within a few decades? Is there being developed a capable leadership of sound integrity, imbued with the idea of serving the people, and able to achieve co-operation despite factional differences? Are the masses sufficiently intelligent in political terms to choose satisfactory leaders and to follow them with enough consistency to safeguard

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

national life? Can successful relationships be worked out between the various indigenous groups, the immigrant groups, and their *mestizo* offspring so as to minimize racial frictions? Shall there be a common or national language—whether English, one of the major dialects, or a fusion of these latter—and how far is the use of the many local vernaculars to be encouraged? How can the diverse customary law, the surviving Spanish law, and the adopted elements of the American judicial system be harmonized so as to bring statutory justice as near as possible to the living codes of the people? Are the academic tradition in schooling and the idea of universal education received from the west suitable for Philippine conditions, or must they be adjusted to conform more to the local needs and realities? How can the population and resources be redistributed in relation to growing numbers and a rising standard of living? How can financial stability for the country and economic security for the people be achieved in the face of present economic and commercial conditions in the international sphere? To what degree is it possible or desirable to evolve a unified Filipino culture through fusing or superseding the various local customs, and adopting or rejecting superimposed foreign elements?

Such a brief summary of the human problem of the Philippines gives a wider meaning to this study of certain non-Christian groups. There can be no more searching test of these matters than in a close analysis of conditions on an isolated Philippine frontier among some of the most diverse of Filipino peoples to-day. A survey of government policies and their results among these "backward" folk, and of the more informal relations being worked out between the non-Christians and the Christians now that peace and developing communications are bringing them together, should be significant to those concerned with Philippine national life and its destinies. Again, such issues will be

## *Non-Christians in the Philippine Setting*

dealt with as the utilization of a large section of Philippine lands and natural resources; the shaping of the judicial and educational systems to local needs and conditions; the development of a leadership both non-Christian and Christian; and the attainment of wider loyalties and national consciousness. Particularly it forms a test of the degree to which such minority groups are being assimilated or showing themselves capable of being assimilated and harmonized with the other peoples of the islands.

## *The Non-Christians as a Special Problem*

There have been in the past tendencies both to overstress the importance of the minority groups in the Philippines perspective and to ignore their significance almost entirely. Many Christian Filipinos have resented, not without reason, the attitude of western visitors in being more interested in the wilder peoples than in the more typical population groups, hence by their conversation, writing, and photographs conveying a false impression of savagery in the islands. Some have feared, too, that the special interest shown by American administrators in their welfare was stimulating a trend toward the separation of such peoples from the rest of the Filipino population, leading perhaps ultimately to a partition of territory when independence might be granted.

On the other hand, Americans have felt a peculiar sense of responsibility toward such minorities on account of their "backwardness and dependence." It has been felt undesirable to pass over their affairs fully to the Christian Filipinos until assured that there is adequate leadership among the latter to control them and also to protect them from exploitation. A main argument put forward by those opposing immediate independence for the islands has been that the interests of certain non-Christian groups would

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

suffer, while others, notably the Moros, would rise against the Christians once the *pax Americana* was removed. Declarations made by some Christian Filipinos that the non-Christian problem is now completely solved, and that the difference in religious loyalties is proving no bar to political-cultural unity, indicate to many such Americans that the situation is inadequately understood. They fear, therefore, that in an autonomous Philippines the non-Christians would meet with scanty consideration for their peculiar needs.

Before passing to consider the special non-Christian groups with which this study is to deal, it seems desirable to gain a clearer sense of the place of the non-Christians as a whole in the Philippines setting.

The Philippine census of 1918 revealed the Christian population to be 9,381,357, and the non-Christian groups to total 932,953. A later estimate made in 1927 by Professor Beyer of the University of the Philippines places the former figure at 10,687,000 and the latter at 1,075,000; of these last 490,500 comprised the Mohammedan Moro groups, and 584,500 the so-called pagans. Approximately one out of every eleven Filipinos, therefore, belongs to the non-Christian class. Scattered widely over the archipelago, they occupy or range over a land area proportionately far greater than their numbers suggest, for the Christianized Filipinos cling to the lowlands and coast, leaving them the great hinterlands.

In Spanish times special forms of military and politico-military rule were worked out in the attempt to pacify and civilize the non-Christian groups. American administrators, in continuing this task, have from the first provided a governmental mechanism apart from that applied to the Christian population. When, in 1907, government by an appointed Commission was modified in the islands as a whole to allow for a Filipino legislature (page 76, footnote 7),

## *Non-Christians in the Philippine Setting*

the affairs of non-Christians were retained in the hands of the Commission until its disbandment in 1916. The Jones Act of that year, which allowed the Filipinos to participate still further in governmental affairs, centred this control in the hands of the Governor-General and his appointed deputies. This arrangement continues to the present. At first there was a period of experimentation with forms of central, provincial, and local government that would be especially adapted to conditions in the non-Christian areas, during which such historic units of administration as the original Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the Bureau of Ethnology, Moro Province, and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu were tried, particularly under the stimulus of former Secretary of the Interior Dean C. Worcester. Through the experience thus gained an organization of government was evolved consistent at once with the "state of advancement" of the non-Christians, and with an ideal of speedily developing political competence as desired by both American and Filipino leaders. As the bulk of non-Christians were concentrated into two areas, Mindanao-Sulu and northern Luzon, these were formed into nine special provinces with appropriate sub-provincial and municipal district administrations. Provision was made to promote the interests of non-Christians living outside these areas. The whole system has been directed from Manila by the Department of the Interior, working through a new Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes formed in 1917, in co-operation with other government departments and bureaux dealing with such matters as education, health, public order, justice, and economic development. The final authority for all non-Christian affairs is vested in the Governor-General.

To allow further for the different conditions prevailing in non-Christian areas, the statute books of the Philippines contain a number of special laws, or exceptions to general

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

laws, applying only to non-Christians. These have always been regarded as temporary expedients pending the achievement of greater competence. Yet they serve to distinguish such minority groups very clearly from the rest of the Filipinos. Since 1916 the non-Christian Provinces have had a direct voice in the national legislature, being allotted under the Jones Act a proportionate number of seats in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. But such positions are filled by appointment of the Governor-General instead of being elective as for the rest of the Philippines.

Along with the machinery of government, the aims sought by successive administrations in their dealings with the non-Christian groups have had a historical development. In earlier years both the Spaniards and Americans had the one great purpose of bringing what were a vast number of warring and hostile communities and nomadic bands under effective control. This was succeeded by the *mission civilisatrice* on the American pattern, reaching its culmination perhaps in 1913-14. With the advent of the Democratic regime, and coincident with the general process of "Filipinization" that followed, a reaction ensued against emphasizing unduly the uniqueness of the non-Christians and their problems. All definitions of policy became related to the end of a quick assimilation of such minority groups into the general Filipino life. The work of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, for instance, is defined in the revised administrative code of 1917 as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to continue the work for advancement and liberty in favour of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos, and foster by all adequate means, and in a systematic, rapid, and complete manner, the moral, material, economic, social, and political development of those regions, always having in view the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between, and complete fusion of, the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the provinces of the Archipelago."



## *Non-Christians in the Philippine Setting*

More recently, however, this policy has been somewhat modified. The hopes of those desiring rapid absorption soon met with setbacks in the form of indifference on the part of the mass of non-Christians or even of direct hostility to pressure. Ancient usages and beliefs did not budge. Innovations were resisted, even where severe force was applied. These circumstances, together with a closer knowledge of non-Christian conditions on the part of administrative officials, have led to a more tolerant and sympathetic attitude toward things non-Christian, in government circles at least. This receives its clearest expression in a recent circular of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (No. 68, 1932) which condemns and forbids actions by officials and employees in the special provinces "tending to attack or despise the customs, usages, and traditions of the locality and to offend the religious sentiments of the non-Christians," as endangering both public order and harmonious relations between the government and its wards. "Religious practices, usages, customs, and traditions," it states, "which are not contrary to law, morals, and good customs should be tolerated and respected. Nothing can offend so much a people as attacking or despising, through malice or ignorance, their delicate sentiments produced by the faith in their religion and by their venerable traditions." The goal of assimilation as fast as circumstances permit is, however, still upheld.

Such a brief survey of the present place of non-Christian groups in the Philippine perspective and of the end result desired for them, at least by the Christian Filipino, makes it possible to pass now to the more specific study of the experience of one section of non-Christians, the quarter million people who inhabit the highlands of northern Luzon. These may be considered as providing a sample or test case of the administrative system and of the problems outlined in this introductory survey.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MOUNTAIN REGION AND ITS PEOPLES

THE north-western portion of Luzon, largest and most populated of the Philippine islands, is made up of a great mountain mass some 24,000 square kilometres (9,200 square miles) in area, on which the peaks and ridges rise in places nearly ten thousand feet above sea-level.

Here the broad fertile plains north of the capital, Manila, narrow to a mere strip of coastal flat and foothills. This is the Ilocos country, more closely settled than any other part of the archipelago, and having in parts some 1,200 inhabitants to the square mile. Up from its minutely cultivated fields and close-set towns and hamlets rise steeply the nearer cordilleras. River valleys quickly become attenuated into gorges and waterfalls. Malarial jungles on the lower levels give place to rock battlements or grassy slopes, to cliffs, peaks, saddles, and scarred watercourses. Across these sweep cool breezes scented with the tang of innumerable pine trees—the whole a constant vista of mountain majesty, a temperate island within a tropic land.

Mount Data, a peak set centrally in the mass (Diagram 1), shapes in large measure the topography of the whole. From its shoulders tumble the headwaters of four river systems: the Abra, which passes away north-west through the Cervantes and Abra valleys to enter the China sea at Vigan, Ilocos Sur; the Agno, flowing south between the highest of the cordilleras to debouch into Pangasinan province and the gulf of Lingayen; the Asin, which in turn becomes the Ibulao, joins the Magat and, traversing the rich yet sparsely inhabited province of Isabela, reaches the Cagayan river and so flows north to the ocean; and lastly the Chico, most turbulent of the mountain rivers,

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

wending north-east through a great gorge into the foothills and so to join the Cagayan near its mouth. This water system is all important to an understanding of the distribution and life of the mountain peoples. Without it to irrigate their terraced rice fields built upon the steep slopes and in the beds of the streams the populations of most areas could not subsist.

Where in the south the peaks rise hugely from the plains, the country farther north becomes lower, until at last in the northern third it sprawls out into a jumble of broken mountains, hills, and river valleys at most not over four thousand feet high. The south enjoys two seasons that are characteristic of the western part of the Philippines: a dry winter from December to May, and a wet summer. To the north the uplands of pine and oak yield completely to sodden, tropic jungle across which rain drives fairly continually for five-sixths of the year. February, March, and April alone bring prospects of fine weather according to the altitude and latitude. From stream and swamp the waters gather here into a fifth river system, the Apayao-Abulog, which flows out on the northern coast not far west of the Cagayan mouth.

### *The Original Peoples*

This mountain district, rarely if ever penetrated by the old-time peoples of the plains, remained little known during the first three centuries of the Spanish regime. Only in the nineteenth century did it begin to yield its human mysteries.

The Spanish explorers and missionaries first, and, particularly from 1901 to 1914 under the auspices of a Philippine Bureau of Ethnology, a number of trained scientific observers applied themselves to the task of classifying its peoples in terms of race and culture.

The mountaineers, it was found, showed remarkably

# Taming Philippine Headhunters

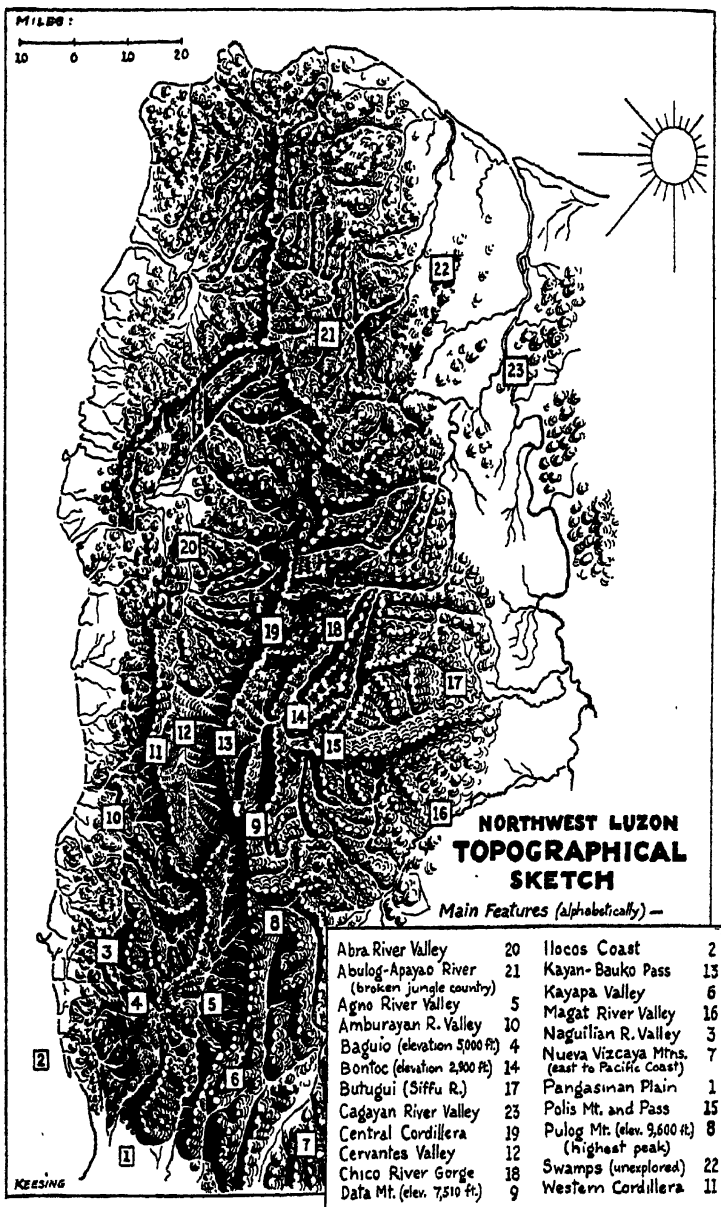


DIAGRAM I

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*



**DIAGRAM 2**

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

diverse ethnic characteristics. Little if at all welded politically as were many lowland Filipino groups as a result of alien domination, they were scattered over the high ranges and through the lower jungles in self-contained units: permanent towns or clan groups of the rice-terracing peoples, placed wherever a livelihood could possibly be won from soil and water; small hamlets of semi-sedentary folk who depended on dry agriculture in forest clearings (*kaingin*) supplemented by hunting; and bands of wandering pigmies, living on wild vegetables and fruits together with the products of the chase.

Each unit was potentially hostile to all others. Settlements near or within plain sight of one another cherished feuds that came down from the mists of tradition. Trails and passes were constantly watched. Warriors guarded the workers in the field, and jungle villages were ringed with bamboo palisades and spikes. The shy pigmy sped his silent arrows in unceasing enmity against his taller neighbours. All indulged in the thrilling game of head-hunting, which made the name of the mountain peoples a byword for cruelty and ferocity among the Christianized Filipinos.

With increasing knowledge, the many hundreds of autonomous groups were classified into a small number of racial, cultural, and linguistic types.<sup>1</sup> Adjoining settlements, bitter as might be their enmity, were seen to have similar dialects and customs. Across a mountain range, a mere movement of a pencil-point on the map but requiring perhaps many hours or even some days to traverse, would be villages with striking differences in housing, dress, social organization, and religious beliefs. In a hill pocket between

<sup>1</sup> See the works of Barrows, Barton, Beyer, Cole, Jenks, Kroeber, Meyer, Moss, Sawyer, Scheerer, and Worcester referred to in the bibliography; these give references to other sources where such exist.

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

the two might be a group combining traits from both, but with a dialect of its own.

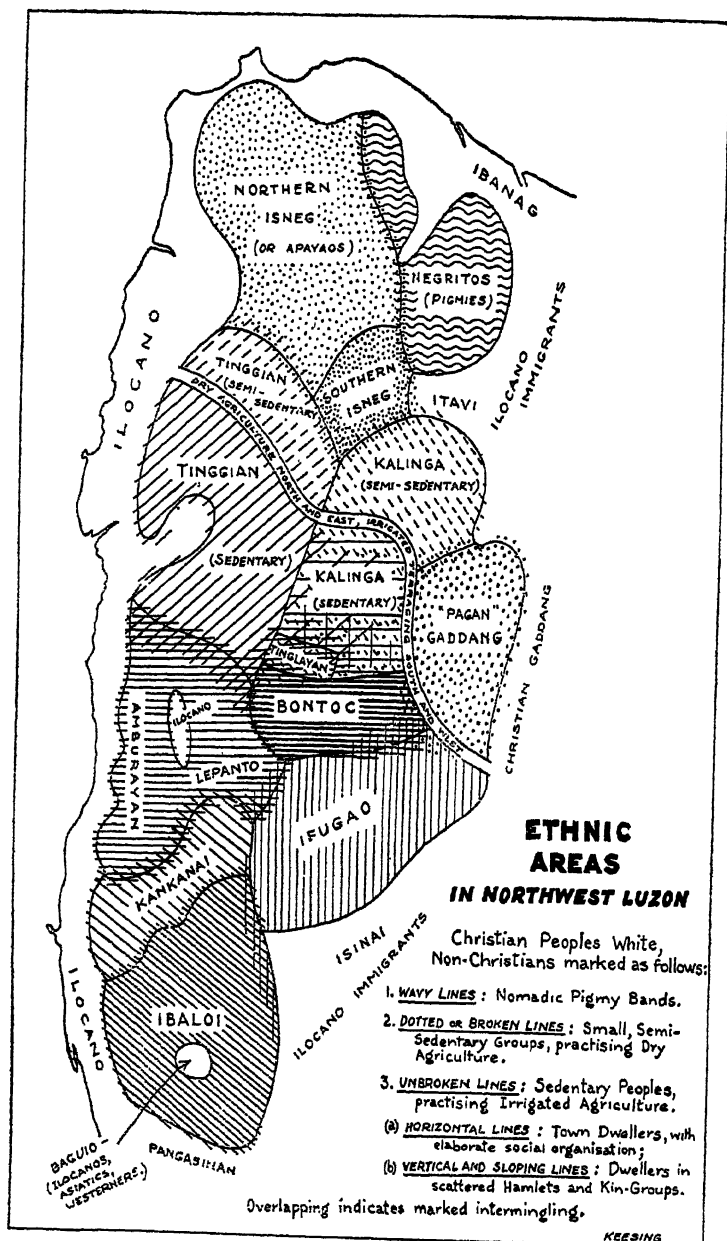
Though as yet detailed ethnic surveys are available only for certain areas, enough is known to make possible a classification of all the mountain folk in terms of their main characteristics. It must be remembered, however, that such larger groupings as the scientist makes in order to build a theoretical structure of common origins or cultural relationships do not indicate that the people themselves have any well-developed sense of unity to-day. They do not correspond in the least with the political groupings, in which loyalty is more or less confined to the community and the kin.

Diagram 3 shows in outline the main ethnic groups of the mountain population to-day, totalling in all nearly a quarter of a million people, exclusive of lowlanders and other immigrants.<sup>2</sup>

In the extreme south, within the present sub-province of Benguet, are the *Ibaloi* or *Nabaloi*, numbering now some 30,000. A related people live immediately to the north and north-west, the *Kankanai*, about 24,000 in all. Adjoining the latter farther north are groups who have no collective name for themselves, but are now known as the *Lepanto* and *Amburayan* peoples after the names given to their districts by the Spaniards; they number approximately 32,000. Centrally in the mountain region are 30,000 people known as the *Bontoc*, while on the eastward slope are groups called *Ifugao*, at least 75,000 altogether and most numerous of the mountain peoples to-day—both of these are mainly in the sub-provinces that bear their names. The Lepanto and Amburayan settlements fuse to the north with those of a folk called *Tinggian* or *Tinguian*, who number

<sup>2</sup> No accurate census has yet been taken of the region, so this figure and those given below are estimates made by the writers from the statistics available. These are set out fully on pages 84-96.

# Taming Philippine Headhunters





## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

some 20,000. Away to the extreme east are 2,000 or more "pagan" *Gaddang*, others of this people having been Christianized and settled in the Cagayan valley. To the north in the sub-province of Apayao are 10,000 *Isneg* or *Apayao*, and a remnant of pigmy peoples numbering to-day perhaps not more than 1,000. Between the Bontoc, Lepanto, Tinggian, *Gaddang*, and *Isneg* are 30,000 *Kalinga* or *Kalingga*. These, ethnically diverse, divide into two main types. Some 22,000 in the south and west of the sub-province of Kalinga live in large villages and practise irrigated agriculture, while the remainder in the north and east are semi-sedentary, cultivating in forest clearings.

These mountain peoples, except for the pigmies, are sometimes referred to as a whole by the name *Igorot*. In scientific writings, however, this term has been confined to the south and south-western groups. Owing to this indefiniteness, and certain associations which the word has in the mind of the lowlander disparaging to the mountaineers—many an Ilocano mother uses it to frighten or reprove her children—it can well be avoided altogether.

The ancient tales of the mountain peoples, corroborated with archaeological and other evidence, indicate that they have occupied the region for a long period. Most communities trace their beginnings to a time when the world was flooded, and mankind was saved in the persons of a brother and a sister who found refuge on the highest peaks—though each group names some particular height in its immediate vicinity. These survivors later married at the behest of the gods to restore the human race. Whether it was because in the Asian areas from which they came they were mountain dwellers, or that successive waves of later migration pushed each group inland and upward, their settlements must have existed in the region at an early date. The last major group came probably not less than fifteen hundred years ago.

# *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

## *The Earliest Dwellers*

The first occupants seem to have been the dwarf or pigmy folk classed to-day under the general name Negrito.<sup>3</sup>

Coming in the dimness of antiquity across the land bridges then connecting the Philippine islands with Asia, their migrating bands were stopped short by the ocean deeps round northern Luzon. Physically they seem to fall into several fairly distinct types. But whether this was so from the earliest times, or represents the results of intermixture with later comers, cannot be said with certainty.

Professor Beyer advances the theory that one section of these early comers were a short folk with Mongoloid characteristics whom he calls "Proto-Malay."<sup>4</sup> These have left a strong racial imprint upon the peoples of the Philippines and other parts of Malaysia, especially showing in the womenfolk. They are found in purest form nowadays in the high mountain areas, whither they presumably retreated to avoid the heat that came with the passing of the last ice age, at which time the land bridges with Asia were engulfed: the Mangyans of central and northern Mindoro island are an example. That they dwelt in the mountain region of northern Luzon is indicated by the degree to which their physical characteristics show through the strains of

<sup>3</sup> The picture of mountain backgrounds here given is based partly on the writings of students of Philippine antiquities, partly on field investigations made personally. The most valuable among the former are the works of Professor Beyer, a perusal of which in print and manuscript was supplemented by conversations. His reconstruction, postulating more waves of racial and cultural influence than suggested by other students, appeals to the writers as the most feasible, especially as it has been tested by extensive archaeological work in recent years. In accepting it as the basis for this tentative outline the writers have filled it out from personal observation, and in several respects have suggested amendment.

<sup>4</sup> *The Non-Christian People of the Philippines*, in *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, vol. ii, p. 909.

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

later immigrants with whom they mixed. This is especially marked in the high areas of southern Benguet and among the Gaddang and other jungle people of the north and north-east. A darker, frizzy-haired pigmy folk were also widespread in early times. Their survivors are found to-day in the isolated foothills and swamps of the extreme north, also in the Pacific coast range away east, the Zambales foothills not far from Manila, and a few places in other islands than Luzon where they have been able to find refuge from later invaders. They are the Negritos proper.<sup>5</sup>

Judging from the life of their descendants, these early immigrants roved the forests and mountain slopes in small nomadic bands. They gathered wild products and hunted game for food, and accumulated little in the way of permanent possessions other than their bows and arrows. In later times they adopted the speech and a few of the ways of incoming groups. But even contact with western influences in recent years has tamed them hardly at all.

## *The Coming of Taller Peoples*

Perhaps six to eight thousand years ago, according to Professor Beyer's estimate, there came by sea in canoes a folk to whom he gives the rather formal name "Type A Indonesian." On the average they were tall and slender, light brown in colour, straight-haired, thin faced, with deep-set eyes, a narrow and sometimes aquiline nose, and a high forehead. Some three thousand years later came other folk whom he calls "Type B Indonesian"—also tall and straight-haired, but more heavily and stockily built,

<sup>5</sup> See *Missions to the Aetas or Negritos*, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, vol. 48, pp. 93 ff.; W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Ethnological Survey Publications, Manila, 1905.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

darker, usually with thick nose and more flaring nostrils, large eyes and mouth, and fairly heavy lips.<sup>6</sup>

Both these peoples seem to have been mixtures of primitive Caucasians with the dark Dravidians of early India. They are quite distinguishable from the later Malayan peoples who were predominantly Mongoloid. In each case there were probably several migrations to the Philippines. The two racial strata represented by these peoples also seem basic among the Polynesian folk in Oceania. In north Luzon their racial characteristics have been blurred by mixtures with the earlier pigmies and later Malaysans, also among each other. Nevertheless they show distinctly among the mass of the people in some groups, and strongly in individuals.

The earlier Indonesians appear to have entered the Philippines by way of Malaysia and Borneo. Either through direct northward voyaging, or as their canoes were blown back upon the rugged east coasts of Luzon and Formosa when making out through the Celebes sea toward Oceania, they found their way into the river valleys. In north Luzon they penetrated especially in the Cagayan valley. Mixing with the earlier pigmy folk—they would be predominantly men, and so would take women from the people already there—and in time also with later migrants to some extent, they now comprise the Isneg, the northern and eastern Kalinga, and the Ilongot of the upper Cagayan. They likewise add a substratum of blood to other groups in the region, such as the Gaddang. On the west coast they seem to have fused with the pigmy folk to produce the basic strain of the Ibaloi people in the

<sup>6</sup> *The Non-Christian People of the Philippines*, op. cit., p. 918. The term "Indonesian" has disadvantages both as being used with different meanings in scientific writings, and as having a political rather than a racial connotation in one large section of Malaysia: the Netherlands East Indies. Nevertheless no other convenient term is available.

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

south. The interior Tinggian also show something of their characteristics.

The original culture of these early Indonesians of the slim, lighter type has been modified variously in the different areas under the influence of later intrusive elements, including the Spanish-Christian impress of modern times. Yet it is possible from the life of such isolated folk as the Isneg and Ilongot to-day to judge something of its main traits.

They were certainly a water people, wherever feasible keeping close to the river valleys and streams, and using canoes and bamboo rafts for transportation. They had the simple form of dry agriculture in forest clearings known over the Philippines as the *kaingin* system. Cultivation was done by the women, while the men fished and hunted game. Clothing consisted of bark-cloth or skins. Their houses were rectangular, placed either directly on the ground or else high in trees, and made of wood and bamboo. Manufactures were simple, weaving or pottery being unknown; fire was made by rubbing wood together. The dog seems to have been their only domesticated animal, and was apparently used—as it is to-day—for religious sacrifices and ceremonial feasting.

Settlements were small—a few houses of close kinfolk. Their leadership in politics, justice, and warfare was vested in individuals chosen in each generation for their personal bravery and capacity, the test for which lay in warrior valour and victorious headhunting. Among the Isneg such leaders are called to-day *maengol* (bravest), and they have their counterpart in the *bagani* of the Manobo people in Mindanao and the *bayani* among the Tagalog; indeed this form of social organization seems basic and widespread in the Philippines. Polygamy and concubinage were practised by those in a position to do so. Men obtained their wives with a “bride-price” paid to the girl’s family,

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

or more usually went into the service of that family instead. Life in general was marked by an individualistic spirit, or at least a kin exclusiveness.

At least some later Indonesian migrants, either of the darker and heavier type, or of a mixed type, appear to have brought a very different form of social organization and a remarkable development of stone culture. Like their predecessors they kept to the waterways, even when high inland. They seem to have entered the mountain region by way of the middle Ilocos coast and the upper Abra valley, mixing with the earlier peoples. Following up the streams, either from choice or through pressure from later comers, some passed over the main backbone of the mountains into the upper Chico river valley, and even farther eastward. Their blood, and perhaps still more their manner of life, survives to-day in the Lepanto-Amburayan, Bontoc, and southern Kalinga groups, though probably in purest form among the Bontoc.

As a result of this wedge-like thrust into the mountains,<sup>7</sup> the earlier groups—pigmy and pigmy-Indonesian—inhabiting the region appear to have been pressed south into Benguet, north into the jungles of Kalinga and Apayao, and east into Ifugao and Cagayan. But no doubt numbers of their womenfolk were taken by the newcomers, for the older racial types show through even to-day.

These later Indonesians do not seem to have reached Formosa to the north of the Philippines as did the earlier Indonesians. They are found, however, on the little island of Botel Tobago between Formosa and Luzon, where they are called the Yami.<sup>8</sup> Some also landed in the Cagayan river valley in north Luzon, where their descendants are

<sup>7</sup> Shown by horizontal lines in Diagram 3.

<sup>8</sup> J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, London, 1903, pp. 587-88; Government of Formosa, *Report on the Control of the Aborigines*, Taihoku, 1911.

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

known as Ibanag. Extensive archaeological finds by Professor Beyer suggest that they may have occupied for long an area south of Manila, between Taal volcano and the sea. His evidence, mainly gained from a study of numerous stone adzes, also relates these people to the Polynesian folk away to the east. He surmises, therefore, that a migration may have taken place directly from Asia to northern Luzon; some went out through the channel between Formosa and the Philippines, while others in time passed south and east by way of the Celebes to Oceania.<sup>9</sup>

As judged from the present life of the Lepanto-Bontoc-southern Kalinga peoples (the Amburayan folk being by now largely under the influence of the Ilocano), the most characteristic element in the culture of those who found their way into the north Luzon mountains was a well-developed village organization.

Where the earlier peoples, and likewise the succeeding Malayan peoples, lived in small clan units or hamlets marked by an exclusive spirit, these late Indonesians dwelt in large cooperative communities. The average village to-day has a population of about 800, while some have over 1,500. Before the coming of rice cultivation, however, they were no doubt much smaller. Each village was divided into "wards" (*ato*, *at-ato*), some now having as many as nineteen. Corresponding more or less to patrilineal clans, these were units of political and judicial administration with their affairs run by councils of the older, more important men; they were also the unit for warfare and headhunting. The villagers cooperated as a whole in many religious, social, and economic matters, leadership for these purposes being vested in special families and individuals. Kin

<sup>9</sup> The results of these archaeological studies, when published, should contribute much to an understanding of Pacific antiquities. A full sequence of artifacts from obsidian flakes and early, middle, and late neolithic stone work to many kinds of pottery and porcelain are being found.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

groups and households owned their own property and were the units for ordinary affairs. Each community recognized certain families as a hereditary aristocracy. But no absolute caste existed; rather, families and individuals graded from aristocrat (*kadangian*) to commoner and dependent, according to descent, marital affiliation, and contemporary social and economic status.

The only comprehensive study in this whole ethnic area was made in 1902 by Dr. A. E. Jenks.<sup>10</sup> Succeeding writers have almost invariably echoed his writings rather than undertaking further investigation. Excellent as is his survey, the community chosen (the town called Bontoc) is unfortunately not typical of the region. Overcrowding and other factors have produced there some special developments in social organization. On the basis of this material, most students have treated the Bontoc people as if they were unique in the mountain area. Investigations made by the writers, however, soon showed that they form a normal subdivision of the larger ethnic group.

The first impression received on entering a Bontoc or Lepanto village is the elaborate use of stone. Each house is usually on a rectangular stone platform with a paved front. There are stone paths, and stones for sitting on and leaning against. Most important of all, the village ward or section has a raised stone platform, sometimes circular or semicircular in shape, with a paved floor ringed with large rounded or upright stones highly polished through long usage for squatting, sitting, and leaning. This is the political and ceremonial centre of the ward. Here all councils of the elders and certain animal sacrifices take place. In former years, too, all war and headtaking ceremonies were consummated upon the platform. It is also the men's club, for on its stones and in a low rectangular hut (*abong*, *pabafongan*) adjoining it, the men with leisure gather by

<sup>10</sup> *The Bontoc Igorot*, Manila, 1905.



## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

day, and the unmarried youths and widowers sleep at night. To women it is taboo.<sup>11</sup>

The Spanish referred to the *ato* platform as the *tribunal*. In pacifying Lepanto from about 1830 on, they found it useful to make one platform in each village the administrative centre. A drum was hung there so that the appointed officials and the village elders might be easily summoned for government purposes. As a result, the importance of the other platforms in the villages as political and judicial centres has tended to wane. A new community organization bound around the chosen platform, now called the "*tribunal* of the government councillor," has grown up instead. Yet, except in some of the villages near the coast (that is in Amburayan), the other platforms are retained and still have their social and ceremonial functions. The memory of the old men carries back to the time when the Lepanto *at-ato* had essentially the same role in village life as the Bontoc *ato*. Indeed, now that headhunting has stopped and civil functions are being assumed by appointed government officials in the Bontoc villages—pacified early in this

<sup>11</sup> This platform is usually known as *dapae* (Lepanto) or *tjapae* (Bontoc) if the structure itself is meant, and *at-ato* (Lep.) or *ato* (Bon.) if its political and ceremonial functions and the families connected with it are included. There are, however, local variations in this nomenclature. In Bontoc town, where Jenks made his survey, all but one of the seventeen *ato* divisions have two platforms each, called *fawi* and *pabafongan*. This, however, is exceptional. Elders of Bontoc suggest that the duplication was the result of overcrowding. *Fawi* elsewhere in Bontoc and Lepanto usually signifies a small shelter in the fields or mountains. Jenks points out that even the neighbouring village of Samoki had only one platform to an *ato*, but succeeding writers speak erroneously of two as typical of all the Bontoc area. For a summary of the place of the *ato* in the life of the people see Jenks, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff. In the writers' opinion he stresses overmuch the autonomy of *ato* groups as over against the village; a survey of social and religious life and particularly of agricultural ceremonies reveals a large degree of unity and co-operation within the village as a whole.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

century—the Bontoc *ato* system is becoming modified along the same lines.

Another institution throughout Bontoc and Lepanto, though also found in modified form in Ifugao, is the segregation of the sexes in youth for sleeping purposes. Starting at the age of four or five, the boys go at night to the hut adjoining the stone platform, or in Ifugao to a special hut in the settlement—the *ato* system does not exist there. They come home to meals and to take part in family affairs, but only during their married life do they have a house of their own. In Bontoc the girls go correspondingly to a special hut (*olog*), of which there is usually one to a ward. In Lepanto, however, as also in Ifugao, they occupy an empty house or else that of a widow.

The Bontoc girls' hut is frequently described as a house of "trial marriage." This is not a very satisfactory phrase; it is rather a place of courtship and of experimental mating. The youths visit their sweethearts there, and if they find compatible mates—the usual test being that a child is on the way—the economic and ritual obligations of marriage, such as property settlements, the building of a house, and the observation of omens are undertaken. Relationships outside the girls' house, or visits by boys to the houses where their sisters or close female relatives sleep, are forbidden: indeed there is always a strict mutual avoidance by brothers and sisters.

This method of courtship is practised likewise in Lepanto, and in a less formal way in Ifugao. In the latter region the youth has usually to go outside his own little hamlet in order not to infringe taboos of avoidance. In all three areas the leading aristocratic families form an exception to the practice, betrothing their children in early youth, as their marriage is a strategic consideration. Yet even so their personal preferences later are taken into account.

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

For married people, monogamy was and is the rule in Bontoc and Lepanto, though couples are allowed to separate and remarry at will. The standards of conduct demanded of married women are very strict, and the customary law provides intricate rules of settlements and compensations for all marital troubles. On the whole women have a higher status in the community than among the groups descended from the earlier migrants. While called upon to work hard, they enjoy a fair division of labour with the men, and exercise an important influence.

These forms of social organization in Bontoc and Lepanto show every sign of being old, rather than recent developments. So far as they are present in Ifugao, they seem to be an Indonesian understratum showing through the Malayan culture that came afterwards to that area. It may be that at one time Indonesians having these customs dominated in the Ifugao district, but were later pressed back as the Malaysans came up from the south-east. More detailed investigations in a fringe area between the Bontoc and Ifugao, namely in Barlig, Lias, and Mayoyao, may throw light on this. In the same way, careful research is needed in Tinglayan and southern Kalinga to show how far the large villages of that region have a form of social organization related to that of Bontoc and Lepanto; very little is known of this.

Judging from both Bontoc and Lepanto, the houses of the later Indonesians were rectangular, and built directly on the ground. This shape is preserved not only in the *ato* huts, but also in the houses of the poor and widowed, and in field structures.<sup>12</sup> Yet in more recent times the richer families have raised their houses on piles and made

<sup>12</sup> The term *abong* and related words are widespread in the mountain region as referring to house structures, as is also *fawi* (*balei* and other variations). The first seems older, perhaps even a survival of the pigmy speech. The latter is a widely known Malayo-Polynesian word, being akin to the Polynesian *fale*, *hale*, etc.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

a more pyramidal roof, copying a Malayan style. This, varying somewhat in design from district to district, is now the usual dwelling for married people. Clothing was made from bark-cloth (called in Lepanto *koba*), except as woven materials were obtained by trade or copied from the Malaysians. Craft work, though more developed than among the earlier Indonesians, for basketry and plaiting, also perhaps crude pottery appear to have been known, was yet primitive. Tattooing was practised, with special reference to bravery in war.

Headhunting was of a different type from that of the earlier groups. Where the Isneg, for instance, cut only the top of the skull, the Bontoc took the whole head, and the ceremonial use of such trophies was different. The pig and the chicken were domesticated as well as the dog (page 45), and the former two were, and are, most used for ritual sacrifices.

Such a summary of the main characteristics of this migrant group is incomplete without recognizing that there are, to-day, important variations as between Bontoc, Lepanto, Amburayan, and southern Kalinga in many matters of custom and belief. The Bontoc man, to take an obvious example, wears a little basket hat on the back of his head, while the Lepanto man wears a headband of bark or cloth. Such differences can be recognized as due in some cases to influence from neighbouring groups, in others to local invention and specialism. They enable the student to classify the ethnic area into subdivisions. A close study of the life of the people shows, indeed, that similar variations occur between groups of villages within each subdivision, and even between adjoining villages within these groups. Yet through all this diversity the common pattern of likeness shows clearly.

In placing the Lepanto and Amburayan peoples with the Bontoc as is done here, the writers are departing from the

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

hitherto accepted classification of the mountain-folk. So far there has been no adequate material published concerning the life and customs of these first-named peoples.<sup>13</sup> As a result of some general statements by students working in neighbouring areas, it has become usual to group them with the Kankanai and Ibaloi to the south. The writers' investigations among the Lepanto soon showed that they stand with the Bontoc as over against these latter peoples, who have a very different social and economic organization. Inquiries made among reliable informants from Amburayan indicated that they likewise have affiliations with the Lepanto-Bontoc group, though being adjacent to the coast their life has been greatly overlaid with influences from the Ilocano.<sup>14</sup>

A visitor to the region familiar with Pacific island cultures cannot but be struck by the resemblances between the life of these folk and that of Polynesian groups. Such elements as the village organization, the wards, the councils of elders, the hereditary aristocracy, the stonework and ceremonial platforms, courtship and marriage, the segregation of the unmarried, brother and sister avoidance, the status of women, the old house shape, craftwork, tattooing, head-hunting, and ritual sacrifices, seem to lead out into Oceania.

<sup>13</sup> In J. A. Robertson, *The Igorots of Lepanto*, there are useful but fragmentary notes written by the village officials. Of Spanish writers the best was A. Perez, *Igorrotes*, Manila, 1902. A *Grammar of the Lepanto Dialect as spoken at Bauko*, prepared by Father M. Vanoverbergh, was published by the Bureau of Science in Manila (1917); he has also had published a collection of songs in *Anthropos*. A number of manuscripts by Spaniards and by early American officials are assembled in the Beyer Collection, *History and Ethnography of the Igorot People*, the most important being a *Report of the Supervisor of the Census for Lepanto-Bontoc*, 1903, by Governor W. Dinwiddie.

<sup>14</sup> The details of these investigations will be published in separate papers. The Bontoc, like the Lepanto, consider that the spirits of their dead pass westward to the coast region—a fact suggestive of the line of early migration.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

The writers do not wish to make any hasty statement of relationships. If such exist, they might on the one hand be traced to common Asiatic origins. It is possible, on the other hand, as suggested by Professor Beyer's surmise of a migration by way of the northern Philippines (page 47), that these groups remained in Luzon while others passed on into Pacific islands. At least the problem is worth further comparative study.

### *The Malaysans*

In upon these pigmy and Indonesian peoples came new voyagers: shorter folk with more Mongoloid characteristics.

Their main lines of thrust into the mountain area seem to have been, first, into the Abra valley, thus becoming through mixture with the earlier peoples the Tinggian of to-day; second into the Amburayan, Naguilian, and Agno valleys, where their blood went in part to the making of the Kankanai and to some extent of the Ibaloi peoples; and third up the Kayapa or Pampang valley and over the mountains into Ifugao. In time the Malayan strain also filtered extensively into the Amburayan and Lepanto peoples, and even in large degree among Bontoc and other more isolated groups in mountain and jungle. Elements of the Malayan culture likewise spread, especially in the Ibaloi, Kankanai, Lepanto, and Bontoc areas.

These newcomers appear to have settled over the mountain-sides in tiny hamlets or clan groups, between which few wider political or social relationships were developed. This is seen most clearly to-day among the Ifugao. The Tinggian of remoter parts are also scattered. The latter people, however, came strongly under the influence of later arrivals to the coast, the Ilocano, who in the course of trade with China and other countries before Spanish times developed some quite large towns; the majority of

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

the Tinggian, too, were concentrated into villages by the Spanish missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (page 64).

The Malayan peoples are usually thought of as having all come from the south-west. Professor Beyer now inclines to the view that an early group of Malayan folk came to northern Luzon direct from Indo-China, and that these introduced the cultivation of rice in irrigated terraces. He has found ancient terraces on the hills of Luzon as far south as La Laguna lake inland from Manila, but not beyond.<sup>15</sup> If this is so, then the Malaysians of the mountain region are to be distinguished from those who came later from the south-west to occupy the southern coastal plains of the Philippines. Presumably the Ilocano, Pangasinan, and other Malayan peoples of the north Luzon plains represent a mingling of the two Malayan streams.<sup>16</sup>

The technique of terracing hillsides for agriculture forms a subject for interesting speculation. There is every indication that rice culture was brought by Malaysians. But were the later Indonesians also familiar with the terracing method before them?

If connections with Pacific islanders were acknowledged, it might be considered so: in many places the peoples of Oceania made terraces in which they grew irrigated taro.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Rice terracing is practised in the highlands of south-east Asia, also in southern Japan, northern Luzon, and the mountains of Java and Bali. It is absent in Formosa, the middle and southern Philippines, Borneo, and the Celebes—significant facts for the study of migrations and cultural influences.

<sup>16</sup> Such a student as Dr. Fay Cooper Cole would deny this. His work among the Tinggian led him to believe that the Ilocano, Tinggian, and Apayao were different in culture only, not in race. (*The Tinggian*, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1922, p. 248.) The writers, however, feel that his picture is too simple.

<sup>17</sup> The documentary evidence for this is assembled in W. J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, London, 1927 (revised edition), as also for the occurrence of stonework; it is used, however, to support highly debatable theories.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Some, as in isolated Hawaiian valleys, are even comparable on a small scale with those in the Philippine mountains. Nor is evidence lacking in the mountain country itself. There is to-day a striking demarcation between the later Indonesian peoples, who with the Malaysians practise irrigated agriculture in terraces, and those descended mainly from earlier folk, who cling to dry agriculture on the mountain slopes and in jungle clearings. The latter have adopted upland rice where it will grow, but even to-day resist all efforts by the government and missions to get them settled as a terracing people. The former, however, could hardly have maintained their concentrated settlements without some such intensive cultivation.

The Bontoc people cherish a tradition that their great culture-hero, a certain Lumauig,<sup>18</sup> taught them agriculture in a tiny garden now lying within the town of Bontoc. This, tended from generation to generation by a special priest and irrigated by a never-failing spring, comprises a patch, not of rice, but of taro—called in the Philippines *gabi*. It is said by tradition to reproduce itself without replanting. To-day *gabi* is grown here and there in Bontoc and Lepanto along the edges of the rice terraces, though the main space is monopolized by the more productive crops, rice and sweet-potato (*camote*).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Is this also the Polynesian culture-hero Maui? The “g” is dropped in similar words, as where “*niug*” in the Philippine dialects meaning “coconut” becomes “*niu*” in Polynesia. He is invoked equally by the Lepanto.

<sup>19</sup> It is generally considered that the sweet-potato was introduced to the Philippines in early Spanish times. If so it must have spread quickly into the mountain region. Ifugao legends assert that it preceded rice, as being a food from “time immemorial.” A Spanish expedition to the topmost ridges in 1624, seeking gold, reported that the “usual and natural food” of the Ibaloi was “yams and camotes” (A. M. Quirante, *Expedition to the Mines of the Igorrotes*, in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, vol. 20, p. 274). A great deal of light could be thrown on cultural relationships in



## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

Space will not allow further discussion of such evidence, so the problem can only be mentioned and left. At least taro must have been grown where soil and water were favourable, also yams (*ubi*). With the coming of rice and of sweet-potato (if this was not an old-time food) a great increase in population and in the size of village communities was made possible.

Directly associated with irrigated rice culture in the mountains, but quite absent among the *kaingin* agriculturalists in the north and north-east, is a form of socio-economic organization that will be referred to throughout the study as the *baknang* system.<sup>20</sup> By this, certain families and their leading members stand out as a more or less traditional leadership. They own the bulk of the land, direct the activities of dependents, advance goods at interest to the needy, accumulate wealth in the form of food, livestock, precious jars, and the like, and perform ceremonial and religious activities demanded of those having such status. While they had obligations to the gods and their poorer fellows that prevented their developing into "exploiting capitalists," the tendency was for them to marry among themselves and generally exercise a dominant influence.

This type of economic and social leadership seems to have come in with the Malaysians and the terraced cultivation of rice. Among the Ifugao and the Tinggian nearer the coast there are a sprinkling of such families in each district, much as there are landlords (*caciques*) in the Philippine lowlands. But the system reaches its most extreme form in

the Pacific by ethnobotanists and analytical chemists if they would take regional specimens of rice, taro, sweet-potato, yams, and similar food plants and subject them to comparative examination.

<sup>20</sup> *Baknang* is an Ilocano word used everywhere by the mountain people for a rich and influential family or leader. It is adopted here for want of a common word in the local dialects. The most widely used local word is *kadangian*.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Benguet, among the Ibaloi and Kankanai. There, a very few families are dominant—usually one in each valley or marked geographic area—and the mass of the people subservient. Possibly this is because a handful of Malaysians may have brought rice to the region and assumed control or achieved leadership over the earlier peoples. These latter to-day are their tenants, almost their slaves, or else live scattered over the highest slopes cultivating under the *kaingin* system and facing near-starvation as the price of their independence.

In Bontoc, Lepanto, and southern Kalinga, by contrast, the *baknang* system appears to have fused with the older Indonesian system of social leadership through hereditary families of different classes or degrees of importance (page 48). Here the Malaysian influence, combined no doubt with pressure of population on resources, has given a strong economic bias to the activities of the aristocracy. Yet even to-day descent and marital affiliations count far more than wealth. Probably 75 per cent of the population would claim to be *baknang* in some degree.

The Malaysians brought more developed arts and crafts. These included weaving with a loom, and making a good class of pottery. Their influence in matters of housing has already been referred to. Apparently they introduced the use of fermented liquors, and wine made of sugar-cane or rice is now a ceremonial drink everywhere.

It is hard, to-day, to separate what is old from what is more recent in the religious beliefs and rituals of the mountain peoples. Animal sacrifices are now made universally to establish rapport with the gods and spirits, good or evil, and with ancestors. The northern jungle dwellers are concerned mostly with gaining family or personal benefits, and especially immunity from sickness, and their life is bound around with exacting taboos. The rituals of the terracing peoples also seek good luck and health; but

## *The Mountain Region. and Its Peoples*

their main feature is an elaborate system of ceremonies and sacrifices performed by families and whole communities in order to ensure the success of agriculture. At later points in the study elements of this religious life will be set out in more detail. As a whole its consultation of omens through such methods as examining the entrails of animals and watching the movements of birds and insects, its trial by ordeal, taking of oaths, and oracular pronouncements, also, in the case of the Bontoc and Lepanto, its sacred trees and groves, are reminiscent of ancient Greece, and may have come originally from a related source.<sup>21</sup>

A further word must be said of the place of one area, Kalinga, within this complex setting. The life of Kalinga villages seems to represent a mingling in varying proportions of the older Isneg and Gaddang cultures, the Lepanto and Bontoc, and the Tinggian and Ifugao. In other words the region holds and in large measure blends all strata of the mountain migrations. Unfortunately it has so far been little studied.

### *Later Influences*

The life of the mountain groups has been influenced, more or less strongly according to their distance from the lowlands, by such coastal people as the Ilocano, Pangasinan, and Ibanag. The southern Ibaloi, for instance, took over in some degree the Pangasinan dialect. The Ilocano dialect has become current as a second language not only among the Amburayan and Tinggian peoples, but also in recent years throughout the whole mountain country. It is hard, however, to estimate at the present day the total degree of influence as the life of such lowland Filipino groups was revolutionized in early Spanish times, before the older customs and beliefs were recorded.

<sup>21</sup> Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, pp. 175-97.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Numbers of observers have claimed that they can recognize Chinese and Japanese racial characteristics in sections of the mountain-folk. A Spanish story to the effect that some followers of a defeated Chinese adventurer, Limahong, escaped into the highlands during the seventeenth century, and so affected racially the more southern peoples, has become a kind of literary tradition. Japanese are supposed to have penetrated Apayao. Some also say that Moro prisoners sent from the southern Philippines to a penal colony in Cagayan, escaping to the hills, introduced cultural elements there from Mindanao.

Whatever truth these assertions may contain—and some deny them more or less entirely—it is clear that certain cultural influences from India, China, and Japan, in affecting wide areas of the Philippines, did not leave the mountain life untouched. Metal-working was eagerly adopted. Rare pottery, porcelain jars and plates, and valuable beads were received through trade by way of the coastal peoples. These are handed down from generation to generation as among the most precious of possessions, and in the northern jungles form a currency between families for marriage settlements and like transactions. Where, among most of the mountain groups, blue and white prevail as standard decorative colours, the Kalinga and Gaddang make extensive use of red and yellow; this and the existence of special types of design and ornamentation suggest possible recent influence from Mohammedan Moros or peoples from the south who had come into contact with the latter. Such matters lead, however, into speculations with which this study need not concern itself.

Upon these successive waves of humanity and custom the mountain and jungle environment, together with conditions of isolation, set in turn their inevitable mark. Each group, each settlement achieved its own particular racial fusions and cultural combinations. The broad picture here given is

## *The Mountain Region and Its Peoples*

only complete when the characteristics of local autonomy and diversity are again emphasized. It must also be taken as only a tentative reconstruction, open to amendment as more exact information concerning the mountain peoples comes to light.

## CHAPTER III

### SPANISH AND AMERICAN PENETRATION

THE Spanish dealings with the mountain peoples are important, since the form and degree of Spanish penetration has determined the whole non-Christian problem of more recent days—a fact too often minimized. As there is no conveniently accessible history of the area, even though a great amount of data lies scattered through official and missionary documents of the period, it is essential to give a brief survey of the events of most concern to the study.

#### *The Spanish Regime*

The mountain region first seriously caught the attention of the Spanish conquerors and chroniclers as both the source of an extensive trade in gold, and the home of headhunting bands who raided the coastal districts.

From the southern bluffs descended “almost daily” a people called “Ygolotes,” bringing the precious metal to the lowland settlements to “exchange it for . . . hogs, carabao, and rice, taking the animals alive to their own country,” also for salt, cloth, and iron. From the jungle region farther north the more nomadic folk likewise emerged with “honey and wax,” also “deerskins . . . a source of great profit for Japon, because the Japonese make of them good leather.” In the main, however, they were “averse to trade and communication with other people,” “so restless and so warlike,” while sudden head raids were their “whole happiness.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De la Vega, *Relation of What is Known of the Ygolote Mines* . . . , 1609, in Blair and Robertson (henceforth referred to as B. and R.), *op. cit.*, vol. 14, p. 302; *Description of the Philippinas Islands* (unsigned), 1618, *idem*, vol. 18, pp. 98–9. The carabao is the Philippine name for the water buffalo.

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

Between 1572 and 1590 Spanish troops, missionaries, and *encomienderos* succeeded in making the Pangasinan, Ilocano, and some of the Ibanag peoples into subjects and tributaries of Spain, Christianized, concentrated where necessary into new settlements (*barrios*), and allotted in groups—*encomiendas*—to the service of Spaniards holding newly made land-grants in the area from His Spanish Majesty. Talk turned upon the treasures in the looming mountains. But several military expeditions, in 1591 and 1594, into the present Nueva Vizcaya, and in 1601 and 1624 into Ibaloi country, were productive of little result. This was due partly to the uncompromising attitude shown by the mountaineers, partly to the unwillingness of the Manila authorities to meet the expenses of a prolonged occupation. Still another factor made itself felt at this time—the existence of the jungle belt round the mountains in which the dread disease malaria reigned as king. This, doubtless in earlier times an important factor in creating the historic separation between the mountaineers and lowlanders, has continued to influence human distribution and relationships in the region to the present day. For over two centuries after these first attempts at penetration, the heights remained entirely outside the sphere of Spanish authority, except so far as several further exploring or punitive expeditions penetrated special areas and availed themselves of the chance to exact tribute wherever they could.<sup>2</sup> Spain's control even in the Philippine lowlands was precarious enough over much of the time.

<sup>2</sup> *Expeditions to the Province of Tuy* (Nueva Vizcaya), B. and R., vol. 6, pp. 281-300; *Relation of de la Vega*, *idem*, vol. 14, pp. 301-7; Quirante, *Expedition to the Mines of the Igorrotes*, 1624, *idem*, vol. 20, pp. 262-301. During 1665 Admiral de Monforte led an expedition of some importance into Lepanto and Bontoc and enumerated accurately many settlements (*idem*, vol. 37, pp. 245-49, 280). In 1745, 1748, and 1765 military expeditions operated in Nueva Vizcaya and eastern Ifugao, and in 1785 one entered eastern Kalinga.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

There were frequent uprisings; the Mohammedan Moros to the south were a constant menace; and relations were strained between Spain and the other European nations interested in the wealth of the Orient.

Yet the Catholic religious orders, particularly the Augustinians and Dominicans, made persistent efforts at many points to gain entry into this region of *infieles*. A mission was opened at the southern fringe of the mountains as early as 1584. A decade later, work was commenced among the Tinggian. By 1632 the Cagayan valley missions had been pushed inland as far as the Isinai country (Diagram 3), in spite of an uprising against them led by the Gaddang. A mission map of 1641 shows active centres at Bangui in the extreme north of Ilocos, at Tuao, Malueg, and Tuga among the Itavi and eastern Kalinga, and even at Capinatan in Isneg-Negrito country on the Abulog river.

A process of attrition began around the edge of the mountain area by which many families, even whole communities, were won to the Catholic faith. They were either added to existing concentrations of Christian lowlanders, or made into new communities. Such acceptance of the new faith was especially marked in the earlier part of the eighteenth century. At this period the whole of the Isinai people and many of the Gaddang of Cagayan were converted, settled in towns, and persuaded to adopt a sedentary type of agriculture. Villages were formed at the fringe of the hills or in the lower valleys to the west for numerous Tinggian and "Igorot" converts, or else they were brought in to join the Ilocano communities. But advance was by no means steady; there were many instances of reversion by individuals or groups, even some of retreat on the part of the mission workers due to native uprisings or waning interest in the enterprise. The Kalinga mission, for instance, had to be abandoned in 1715 due to the return of many



## *Spanish and American Penetration*

adherents to "the mountains and paganism." Shortly after this the greater part of Cagayan revolted at the instigation of the Itavi people of Tuao and Malueg, losing ground that military suppression and renewed work did not entirely regain for a long time.

Such mission efforts, though touching little more than the fringes, had important results for the life of many mountain groups who remained non-Christian. Peaceful conditions and prosperity in the coastal region were favourable to the extension of trade into the mountains, especially among the Igorot, Lepanto, Tinggian, Kalinga, and Isneg. Many lowland towns, especially in Ilocos, came to have a group of nearer non-Christian settlements more or less affiliated with and dependent on them, while the very existence of some towns was closely bound up with the mountain trade. It was among these *rancherías*, or settlements of non-Christians, that the missions found their most fertile field for labour, so that there came into being a marginal group of *nuevos cristianos*, newly converted pagans and catechumens. Under such circumstances important bonds of relationship developed. While it is naturally impossible to-day to uncover all the ramifications of kinship between the non-Christian mountaineers and former non-Christians who have thrown in their lot with the lowland people, or their descendants, there are numbers of instances where they can still be traced. Besao, for instance, a Lepanto town high on the main cordillera, retains clear memories of ties with Candon and Santa Lucia in Ilocos Sur, and both places have a number of corresponding family names. The Isneg of Talifugo district likewise claim to have connections with the Christianized Itavi of Malueg. According to a mission historian of 1760, even those Igorots who would not allow the missions to enter their country were pleased when relatives and friends removed to Christian villages, for the latter were thus "able to supply them with articles

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

of comfort or luxury which they themselves had not—blankets, wine, hogs, and cattle.”<sup>3</sup>

Yet mission work of this kind seems also to have had an opposite effect. Many groups developed a conscious opposition to things Spanish which appears to have caused them to move away into the deeper fastnesses. From there they harried the Christianized settlements with periodic raids. The double process of removing to the coast or of retreating before the new influences may perhaps explain why large areas along the nearer margins of the mountains have been in modern times practically depopulated, where early records indicate them as once sites of settlement. Especially is this so in Ilocos Norte, and on the lower slopes and foothills on the Cagayan side.

With the nineteenth century, Spanish penetration began in earnest. As early as 1811 a native leader from the Lepanto town of Kayan (Diagram 2) had come to the coast with a request that the Spaniards occupy that area so as to protect the people from ravages by the Bontoc. Given by the authorities the title *maestro de campo*, he was sent back as a government agent among his people. From 1829 to 1837 a number of military expeditions, mainly commanded by Galvey, ranged through Igorot, Lepanto, and Ifugao country, particularly among the Ibaloi. A decade later Ifugao was explored more thoroughly by a punitive expedition under Oscariz, while soon afterward a mapping and mining survey of Lepanto was carried out.

In 1841 the country of the Christianized Isinai and part of Ifugao were constituted a “politico-military” province, Nueva Vizcaya. Five years later the areas occupied by the

<sup>3</sup> B. and R., vol. 48, p. 88. This volume is mostly devoted to mission affairs; for further documents on the work of the religious orders see also vols. 13, pp. 137, 205; 28, p. 159; 31—map of Ituy and other provinces; 38, pp. 239-42, 249, 280; 43, pp. 77-9; 51, p. 49. Full accounts of mission work are also given in the histories written by Father J. Malumbres (see Bibliography)

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

now pacified Tinggian and Ibaloi were similarly organized as Abra and Benguet respectively. Between these latter, two military *comandancias* were formed, Tiagan to the north in 1852 and Lepanto in 1858; and these were combined in 1875 to form another politico-military province, Lepanto. During 1859 the unsubdued peoples of the interior, Bontoc, western Ifugao, and southern Kalinga were loosely grouped as constituting a *comandancia* called Bontoc, with a garrison stationed at the town now called by that name. In all these operations the forces used comprised lowland soldiers and members of the *guardia civil*—Ilocano, Tagalog, Visayan, and others—led by Spanish officers. In some regions these extensions of official control were accompanied by mission effort. In one area, Mankayan in Lepanto, Spanish concessionaires began to exploit extensive copper deposits, using the local mountaineers as a labour force, supplemented by lowlanders and large numbers of Chinese introduced for the purpose. The enterprise, however, was later abandoned.

During 1868 a large section of the mountain people revolted against Spanish rule. The disaffection spread through Lepanto, Bontoc, and Nueva Vizcaya, even to the Cagayan province of Isabela. It was countered by a military expedition, and many formerly untouched settlements in Bontoc and western Ifugao were thus subjugated, at least in name; at this time a further garrison was placed in the latter area at Sapao. The great impulse toward bringing the more recalcitrant peoples under control, however, came from 1880 on, when a definite policy was initiated by the Manila authorities for pacifying and Christianizing the whole region.

In 1881 a Royal Decree was issued providing for concentration of the mountaineers into towns. It also demanded that on all occasions when they visited the official centres or appeared before the authorities "breeches and coats"

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

should be worn. The first attempts to apply this in the Bontoc area brought vigorous protests. An uprising occurred in Sagada which soon spread to other Bontoc areas. The beleaguered Spanish garrisons were successfully relieved after the loss of a number of men, and the native town of Bontoc was ravaged and burnt by the Spanish forces, operating together with war-parties from towns inimical to its people who were invited by the Spaniards to join them—a punitive method frequently practised at the time. Nevertheless the incident served to convince the authorities of the inadvisability of pressing changes too far and fast, for the decree was largely allowed to fall into abeyance.

By this period Abra, Benguet, and Lepanto were coming profoundly under Spanish political and military influence. Communications were opened to the coast in the form of trails at strategic points; the commandants exercised civil and judicial, as well as military functions; taxes and services were being exacted from all adult males; schools were set up in the main centres for both mountain children and those of lowland soldiers and settlers; missions commenced local work without any attempt to remove their converts to other areas; and blockhouses and prisons were built both to maintain local order and to give the new converts to civilization some security against the constant threat of their enemies in the less pacified interior. A fairly adequate system of local government was likewise established, operating through appointed or elected *presidentes* and *tenientes* (lieutenants), usually local native leaders, vested with official authority as Spanish agents, and acting in cooperation with lowlanders installed in the districts as secretary-treasurers and schoolmasters. Though some further attempts to concentrate the people met with scant success, several settlements of Christianized mountaineers and lowland immigrants, often retired soldiers and other government

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

employees who had married in the locality, were formed. Out of these grew Christian towns which have played an important role in the modern history of the mountain-folk. Most important among them was Cervantes, in the upper Abra valley, which became the capital of Lepanto province in late Spanish and early American times.

The period 1889-91 was marked by further developments in politico-military organization, considered necessary as a curb to frequent raids indulged in by groups of the Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and the Isneg of the north, still an all but unknown people. The more remote sections of the Ilocos and Cagayan provinces, together with the large intervening *comandancia* of Bontoc, were broken up into a number of politico-military *comandancias*: Kayapa, where Benguet and Nueva Vizcaya adjoined, Quiangan (Kiangnan) in Ifugao, Itaves in Kalinga, Apayaos and Cabagaoan in the east and west of Isneg-Negrito country. Bontoc was correspondingly reduced in size and more clearly defined. In 1890 another *comandancia*, Amburayan, was formed where Lepanto and Benguet adjoined Ilocos Sur and La Union provinces near the coast, but for an entirely different reason. According to correspondence of the time, it was designed to separate its twelve thousand non-Christian or nominally Christian inhabitants, who "since the remote date of their submission" had been "living abandoned to themselves," from what had become a "pernicious dependence" on the Christian coastal towns, whence they were "receiving but feeble sparks of civilization," and to afford them an opportunity to "advance from their mental and moral backwardness."<sup>4</sup>

In the eastern area, under repeated orders from Manila, attempts were made to compel sections of the mountain people to descend and settle in the plains of Isabel and Nueva Vizcaya. Settlements such as Diadi, San Luis, and

<sup>4</sup> *Documents on Amburayan*, in the Beyer Collection, *History and Ethnography of the Igorot People*, vol. 5, papers 24, 25.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Pilar were created, while Ifugaos were attached to the new Christian town of Bayombong. Under the protection of Spanish arms, too, lowland traders and settlers pushed into regions hitherto unapproachable, and places such as La Trinidad, Kiangnan, Bontoc town, the Cervantes valley, and the northern fringe of Apayao from Langangan to Aparri came to have a resident Christian population. Such migrations, however, met with a natural setback in the regions of less altitude, in the form of malaria. This took an enormous toll of life. Indeed, those mountaineers who descended to the Cagayan lowlands succumbed in such great numbers that the survivors fled in terror back to the highlands. Their experimental settlements disappeared, while the stories brought back by them were impressed so deeply on the minds of those who had remained in the mountains that no move out of the many designed to get the mountain-folk in large numbers to the lower levels has been successful since. Malaria likewise thwarted at the time all attempts by lowlanders to settle the rich plains and rolling hills of the lower Chico river around the old mission of Tuga.

The results of all these happenings, as shown in the contemporary records, were various. While individuals and families in Benguet, Lepanto, and Abra used the new situation to enhance their prestige and wealth by supporting the new regime, the majority of the mountaineers retained "a state of stupidity," in other words manifested great conservatism. There yet remain vivid memories of the oppressive demands made by the Spanish for foodstuffs and labour services which made the people all but enslaved; of the maltreatment of their womenfolk by Spanish officers and the lowland soldiers and guards; of exploitation by the first lowland traders; and of enforced schooling and coffee-planting, the latter entirely for the enrichment of the officials. The two last-named experiments were to prove something of a stumbling-block to later American enthusiasm

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

for education and economic development. Where possible, many fled to the mountains to escape control, a practice which the Spanish tried in vain to stem. No sooner, for example, was the *comandancia* of Kayapa formed, than the population scattered almost to a man up to the "very crests" of the cordillera, leaving their rice terraces in the rich valley to become overgrown. Amburayan and Tiagan became in large measure depopulated in the early 'nineties as a result of the pressure of the new civilizing process, the non-Christian groups moving, interestingly enough, into the mountains within the jurisdiction of the Christian provinces of La Union and Pangasinan, where they could live more or less undisturbed by outside authority.<sup>5</sup>

In the more hostile interior non-Christian groups frequently tried the aggressive expedients of "rebellion," or of raiding the communities already pacified. Bontoc, particularly, was a centre of sudden outbreaks and killings, with consequent punitive expeditions, while the Ifugao of Mayoyao and the pagan Gaddang made periodic raids into the Cagayan valley. Many a punitive force manned by Spanish officers, and including war-parties from villages at enmity with the insurgents, returned from burning houses and crops with baskets of heads as trophies of the punishment meted out—not, however, a very satisfactory solution in the larger view toward suppressing the practices of warfare and headhunting, or allaying old feuds. In the extreme north the Isneg were more successful in their opposition to the new control. About 1896 a combined force surprised and destroyed the Spanish garrison at Paruddun, and the newly formed communities of immigrants in the interior fled to the coast, not to return until

<sup>5</sup> D. P. Barrows, *Memorandum on Amburayan*, Beyer Collection, *idem*, vol. 5, paper 25, p. 3, also *A Preliminary Report on Exploration . . .*, *idem*, vol. 4, paper 12, p. 12; O. Scheerer, *Igorrotes of Benguet*, in *Taft Commission Report*, 1900, pp. 152-55.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the area was pacified by the Americans in 1907-08. At many a point over the mountain area individual traders or settlers from the lowlands lost their heads or disappeared.

These Spanish experiments in native administration were interrupted by the Filipino revolution of 1898. A summary of the results as a whole reveals the weaknesses of the Spanish colonial system, yet entitles it to more credit in shaping the destiny of the mountain province than is usually given. The Spanish did what might in slang terms be called the "dirty work," and the Americans came in with heroic *mein* and unsullied prestige to consolidate their achievement—perhaps an ideal setting for the development of successful colonial administration, and indeed a fact which must be taken into account in making comparisons with the experience of governments in the native areas of neighbouring territories.

The great contribution inherited by the later authorities from Spain, however ruthlessly gained, has been in the matter of discipline, of respect for, or at least submission to, the official command and the constabulary uniform. This made comparatively easy the subsequent tasks of keeping public order and securing the payment of taxes, labour services, and the like. Hardly less important was certain pioneering work accomplished under the greatest difficulties by officials and their missionary advisers: making lines of communication, selecting sites for administrative centres, and fixing regional boundaries in line with ethnic and geographic circumstances. All of these have been followed substantially to the present. Stability and the stamping out of warfare was achieved over much of the area—in Abra, Benguet, and Lepanto; even the oldest living men cannot remember inter-community warfare of the ancient style. This favoured the development of trade and social intercourse, both internal, and with the coastal people. Many communities had considerable training in the



## *Spanish and American Penetration*

arts of government along western lines, and the institutions of *presidente* and *teniente* were successfully grafted upon the native forms of political organization throughout the greater part of the area.

Over against these gains, however, must be offset a heritage of suspicion concerning the processes of government as such, and, worst of all, a bitterness toward the *indio cristiano*, the Christian Filipino, as a result of the contacts with the lowland soldiers particularly regarding the local women, and with the secretary-treasurers who, as Spanish agents, exacted the tributes that all but made the mountaineers into slaves. Crops were kept to the minimum for fear of confiscation. The constant demand for road workers and carriers interfered with the work activities of the settlements. Schools, where these existed, were regarded as merely another imposition, particularly as the school-teacher and the tax-gatherer were often the same person. Early American observers also deplored a tendency inherent in the Spanish system of local government by which the autocratic powers given to the native officials were an encouragement to the growth of caciquism as over against democracy.

## *The Revolutionary Period*

The *Katipunan* or revolutionary forces which moved into the mountain area to expel the Spaniards in 1897 replaced, so far as was feasible, the military system of government with a civil regime. This was in accordance with a constitution proclaimed by the insurgent Filipino government at Malolos. Preoccupied as the leaders were, however, with affairs in the lowlands, little more was done than to appoint officials and station troops in the main centres. Much the same methods were followed in dealing with the native inhabitants as were used by the Spanish.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

The region emerged for a time into the limelight as a result of General Aguinaldo's flight through Lepanto, Bontoc, Ifugao, and Kalinga with American troops in close pursuit. A heroic stand by General Del Pilar at the Tila pass, and a long hunt for the hiding-place of Aguinaldo, are events written large in Filipino history. But more important for the life of the mountain peoples was the fact that, except to some extent in Lepanto and Benguet, a period of serious disorganization, economic devastation, and warfare ensued, particularly after the driving out of the *Katipunans* by the Americans.

All mission work had necessarily been suspended with the hasty departure of the Spanish religious orders from the rural areas. Barrows, chief of the first Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, found in the course of an exploration trip in 1902 that their work had been "utterly swept away," so that even in Amburayan close to the Ilocos coast "scarcely a convert" could be found, all having reverted to their old ways. Roads and trails were neglected, coffee plantations left untended. In Ifugao, where at the outbreak of the revolution nearly all the Spanish garrisons had been "massacred to a man," and a large number of firearms had been obtained, there ensued "a veritable orgy of head-hunting," which did not cease until American military occupation became effective in 1902; a similar recrudescence of old feuds took place in Kalinga and Bontoc. Even in peaceful Benguet many, fearing that they were once more to be oppressed and despoiled, took to the mountains and were only persuaded with difficulty to return in later days.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Reports of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, vol. 1, p. 870; 1904, vol. 1, p. 576; *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903, vol. 1, 458, 541-42; Scheerer, *Igorrotes of Benguet*, *op. cit.*, p. 157. For an account of the Filipino revolution and of the United States occupation, refer to the works cited in footnote 7, page 76.

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

### *The Americans Take Charge*

The United States took control of the Philippines at a time when new inventions and commercial development were beginning to revolutionize the world's frontiers, and when new sentiments regarding the welfare of native peoples were emerging in colonial philosophy to curb the older doctrines that justified cruder exploitation. Such factors marked strongly the new experience of the mountain peoples.

Another factor of equal importance in the recent history of the mountain region has been that a great increase in population was taking place among the lowland people of the Ilocos coast. This area, which formerly had enough room for any non-Christians who might wish to settle there, was now beginning to experience the pressure of numbers that has made it the most densely populated part of the islands. The census of 1918 showed the province of Ilocos Sur to have 492 people to the square mile, La Union 459, Pangasinan 291, and Ilocos Norte 169. When it is noted that only a small proportion of those areas is available for agriculture in the lowland style due to the mountainous nature of their inland sections, the closeness of settlement then and since can be realized. Already, by the time of American occupation, Ilocano emigrants had begun to flow in steady streams to less crowded regions of the archipelago, especially into Pangasinan, Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya. Not only frugal agriculturalists, but also aggressive missionaries of Ilocos culture, they have tended to dominate and even absorb the earlier population groups in those areas. To-day this process has reached a point where the mountain region dealt with in the study has to be looked at as a kind of island within a sea of Ilocos culture, waves of which, it will be shown, have been washing strongly even to its farthest peaks and fastnesses. Even by 1900 the Ilocano

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

speech had become more or less the *lingua franca* of the mountains, a circumstance that has greatly facilitated the task of administration.

The first civil government to be established anywhere in the Philippines under American auspices was the organization, in 1900, of Benguet as a province. Nevertheless this area, together with the rest of the mountain region, was excluded from the application of the various acts by which the civil administration of the islands as a whole was created. "Special conditions," in the words of the Taft Commission of 1900, "require special legislation." A series of separate acts were formulated by the Philippine Commission from 1900 to 1908, the final effect of which was to make approximately the whole mountain area into one political unit, the Mountain Province.<sup>7</sup>

The system of provincial and "township" government tried out in Benguet was applied in 1902 to Nueva Vizcaya and an area comprising Lepanto-Bontoc-Amburayan, though with rather different boundaries from those recognized later. Abra, first organized as a regular province in 1901, was made four years later a sub-province of Ilocos Sur, a form of government which it held until 1917, when it was restored to full provincial status. By 1905 the growing experience in the type of government suitable for non-Christian areas was crystallized in two acts of the Commission, "The Special Provincial Government Act," and "The Township Government Act." A boundary adjustment was made shortly afterward so as to include within Lepanto-Bontoc a number of non-Christian settle-

<sup>7</sup> For a survey of the organization of the Philippines Government, see D. C. Worcester and R. Hayden, *The Philippines Past and Present*, especially chapters 11-16; W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*; C. B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government*; and J. A. LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*. For a narrative of early experiences in the mountain area, see S. F. Kane, *Life or Death in Luxon*, Indianapolis, 1933.

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

ments in Ilocos Sur and La Union, together with the Christian town of Tagudin on the coast, the inhabitants of which were mostly descendants of former non-Christians. At this time Nueva Vizcaya comprehended a large section of Ifugao country. In the same way the regular provinces of Isabela and Cagayan extended to cover north-eastern Ifugao and eastern Kalinga, while Cagayan exercised jurisdiction, at least nominally, over the unsubdued Isneg-Negrito territory. As the peoples of these last-named areas became better known in the course of official exploration trips and penetration by a newly formed Philippine constabulary, it seemed desirable, in the eyes of the central administration at least, to affiliate them for administrative purposes with the special non-Christian provinces already formed. This was accomplished during 1908 in the course of a complete reorganization of northern Luzon territory. The Mountain Province came into being, with Benguet, Bontoc, Lepanto-Amburayan, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao as sub-provinces.

The mountain peoples were fortunate in that they caught the interest and stimulated the imagination of American leaders, and had sent among them an exceedingly capable group of administrators, constabulary officers, teachers, and other workers. Personal influence counts far more than legalisms and bureaucratic efficiency in establishing good relationships with native peoples. The achievements of the later decades were made possible very largely through the work of such men as Worcester, Pack, Hunt, Dinwiddie, Eckman, Folkmar, Gallman, Hale, Kane, Early, and the present governor of the Mountain Province, Colonel Dosser, to mention only a few of the outstanding Americans, and Villamor, Meimban, and Judge Camus among the Filipinos: the former two among the first lieutenant-governors of the wild Apayao country, and the third the first Filipino judge of the court of first instance in the mountain area.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Building upon the Spanish foundations, these officials accomplished with amazing speed and thoroughness the pacification of the area and the establishment of governmental organization.

Undoubtedly the main element in this was, and continues to be, the remarkable system of communications which they developed: horse-trails, bridges, ferries, a network of telephone lines, a postal service, and in due course automobile highways, all in country so rugged as to present almost insuperable difficulties to the engineer. "Again and again," wrote Worcester, "we have built a trail to an ugly, fighting, headhunting settlement whose people have at first thrown spears at our road labourers, but later, when they have found that the trail was really going to arrive, have ended by building one out to meet it." Another main element in the stabilizing process was the setting up of posts of the Philippine constabulary at strategic points. A radical departure was made, however, from the Spanish method, by enlisting local natives in the force. Starting in 1904, there were soon in existence well equipped, excellently trained, and loyal constabulary companies throughout the Mountain Province in which the majority were local men—Ifugaos in Ifugao, Bontocs in Bontoc, Isnags in Apayao, and so on. This move has proved to the present an unqualified success in securing order, confidence, and close contact with the people. In the great territory of Ifugao, for instance, with an estimated population at the time of over 100,000, offences against public order were by 1909 "almost unknown." Yet the total government force comprised merely two Americans and one Filipino as officials and ninety constabulary soldiers enlisted from among the Ifugao people themselves.

The Bontoc, justifiably blasé and suspicious of government dealings in general as a result of their experience in Spanish times, proved rather more difficult to bring under

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

complete control. The effective penetration of Apayao, too, was not completed until 1913, when resisting Isneg were crushed in a final battle with the constabulary at Waga. Before long, however, the mountain area achieved the enviable reputation of being as orderly as any part of the Philippines, and this has continued since. Though sporadic cases of headhunting and assault with weapons occur to the present between mountaineers themselves as echoes of old feuds, open hostilities between towns are ended. What would happen, however, should communications be neglected, or the constabulary forces be removed or considerably reduced now or in the near future, is another matter.

A main factor in drawing the attention of Americans at Manila to the temperate mountain region was the prospect of establishing a resort for health and recuperation there. Before long a city took form among the hills some five thousand feet above sea-level. This, Baguio by name, became in due course the summer capital of the Philippines, and a profound influence upon the life of the mountain peoples. Baguio, also Bontoc, made the capital of the Mountain Province in 1908 due to its central location in spite of its complete isolation at the time, also to a lesser extent such sub-centres as Lubuagan in Kalinga, Kiangnan in Ifugao, and Kabugao in Apayao (Diagram 2), came to play an all-important role in the mountain life, as being centres of government and mission activity, and of a commerce that brought in many lowlanders as permanent settlers there. American miners and mine capitalists, too, quickly became interested in the gold and silver resources of the region. Itogon, Antomok, Balatok, and other points near Baguio, and Suyoc near the old copper mines of Mankayan, all places where native miners had won the precious metals traded from early days to the lowlands, became sites for modern mining plants. Lumber concessionaires also began to exploit the vast forest resources of the region. Lowlanders

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

and a considerable group of Japanese and Chinese, taking advantage of the climate, leased land from native owners around Baguio, and developed an extensive vegetable industry there to supply the Manila market.

For the mountain peoples this represented a new and hitherto undreamed era. Conservative and suspicious at first, they gradually saw that it was possible to move with safety outside their ancestral areas. In 1906 a party of Ifugaos arrived at Cervantes from Banaue, traversing Bontoc *en route*, a journey quite impossible hitherto. At first such journeys were only made armed to the teeth, but in time weapons were left behind or kept from sight, and individuals traversed the trails unharmed. On roads and other public works, and as labourers in the mining camps, mountaineers of formerly hostile settlements worked amicably together. Isneg and Ibaloi children from the ends of the province sat side by side in concentration schools. Under government auspices, meetings, *fiestas*, and expositions were held at central points, where food, native wine, oratory, and sports competitions mellowed the traditional suspicions. "Peace pacts" were established between villages and families with outstanding feuds. These were accompanied, under official persuasion, by the payment of compensation where the score in heads was adjudicated as being uneven.

Such changing conditions brought a considerable economic and commercial expansion. What was hitherto "no man's land" between warring settlements was broken in as rice fields. The opening of an extensive labour market, with wages raised some five hundred per cent above those of Spanish days, brought a large amount of money into circulation. Especially was this so around Baguio and among those communities along the new lines of communication. Lowland traders set up their stalls in markets built by the government in the main centres, while from 1907 to 1925 the administration itself maintained exchanges for the buying



## *Spanish and American Penetration*

and selling of the mountain produce and artifacts. Government bureaus dealing with economic matters began intensive efforts to stimulate the native economic life, as by diversifying agriculture and eradicating pests and diseases.

All this developmental work, together with schooling and health services, called for a large financial outlay. Cedula and property taxes were imposed on the mountaineers as they became broken in to civil life; likewise a road tax of two pesos (equivalent to one dollar gold) a year was levied on all adult males with an alternative of ten days' labour on roads and public works, this last ensuring a large annual supply of workers for the development of communications. Such local income, however, met but a fraction of the expense. The Philippine Commission took the responsibility, therefore, of making large annual grants from general insular funds for the development of this as for other non-Christian areas, a policy which has continued since.

Mission work was resumed among the mountain peoples soon after the establishment of American control. About 1899 there emerged in the Ilocos lowlands an indigenous religious sect called the Aglipayan (Filipino Independent) Church, and a lesser cult which termed itself the *Guardia de Honor*. Both these movements represented a reaction against the dominance of Spanish Catholicism. Under influence from the second a native prophet arose in Lepanto proclaiming a faith called *Sapalada*. Like many other combinations of indigenous and immigrant religions that have arisen along the world's frontiers, it found a ready following among communities which had felt the oppression of a foreign political-religious dominance. Though confined almost entirely to Lepanto, the *Sapalada* has shown itself tenacious. To-day many Lepanto families retain allegiance to it, also to the *Guardia de Honor* and the Aglipayan Church, both of which have secured some following in the region. About 1904 the Protestant Episcopal (American) Mission

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

began work in the mountains, developing its main religious, educational, and hospital centres at Baguio, Sagada, Bontoc, and Balbalasan. During 1907 the Roman Catholic Church resumed its activities there, the work being taken over by a Belgian Order whose priests and sisters spoke English. Within a few years numerous Catholic missions, mission schools, chapels, and catechists were at work, widely distributed over the province. A later mission, the United Evangelical (Philippine Protestant) Church has also developed several important centres of religious and educational work.

With the passage of the Jones Act in 1916 and subsequent legislation, changes were made in the system of local government, and there was an almost complete Filipinization of the Mountain Province personnel, the Americans being replaced by Christian lowlanders. The latter policy was soon modified, however, to give the fullest possible place to mountaineers themselves as they attained the educational and technical qualifications for leadership. Where, too, the Mountain Province tended at first to be considered by lowland Filipino officials "a place of exile," in time it has lost this stigma.

Certain boundary adjustments were also made. In 1920, as a Filipino reaction against what seemed to be a tendency to separatism inherent in the earlier American policies, a large area comprising Amburayan and a part of Lepanto, including the Cervantes valley, was transferred from the Mountain Province to Ilocos Sur and La Union. But the act authorizing this realignment of boundaries contained provisions to safeguard the interests of non-Christians thus included within the boundaries of Christian provinces. The remainder of Lepanto was combined with Bontoc, thus making five sub-provinces: Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao (Diagram 2). Since then several other boundary adjustments have been made, transferring marginal portions of Apayao, now settled predominantly by Ilocanos,

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

to Cagayan, and defining more accurately the provincial affiliations of border communities. In actual fact there has been an almost continual dispute concerning provincial boundaries in north Luzon. Owing to the rugged nature of the mountain area, lines of separation have been hard to fix accurately. The lowland provinces have sought to thrust in their control as far as possible, or as in recent cases of Cagayan and Isabela, to obtain definite cessions of border territory. This has led to strained relations between provincial authorities, and the lodging of strong protests at Manila by officials of the Mountain Province.<sup>8</sup>

Official reports from 1914 on speak enthusiastically of the excellent relationships being developed between non-Christians and lowlanders. Trade, an amount of inter-marriage in certain districts, and the new associations made possible for the two groups both in the mountains and on the plains, have indeed tended to lessen enmities and suspicions. Yet these are still far from being completely overcome. Many lowlanders, adopting a role parallel to that of so many westerners who go among "primitive" peoples, have not hesitated to look down with open contempt or at best Christian pity upon the "Igorot," to exploit the more ignorant, and to discriminate more or less subtly against the educated "native"—all of which is naturally resented. In places like the Cervantes valley and the Tavit region of Apayao the aggressive penetration of lowland settlers has resulted in considerable strain between them and the native inhabitants, by no means resolved to the present.

<sup>8</sup> *Annual Reports of the Provincial Governor*, especially for 1932. Individuals from the regular provinces have come in to hunt illegally, and also from time to time, by purporting to be official representatives, have exacted "taxes" from remote non-Christian settlements.

# *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

## *The Mountain Province—Area and Population*

The topography and political classification of the mountain region is such that surveys and boundary definitions are as yet only approximate. Population figures are even more vague; indeed it is possible that the current official estimates may be wrong by fifty thousand or more. To give the mere statistics, therefore, without analysis and qualification is liable to produce a distorted picture.

No recent official figures for the area of the Mountain Province and its political subdivisions are available. The estimates made for the 1918 census of the Philippines are now obsolete, due to a number of boundary changes involving large districts. Taking the former as a basis, however, and making allowances for the latter, the following approximate areas are obtained:

Apayao sub-province	..	4,000 sq. kilometres (1,540 sq. miles)
Kalinga sub-province	..	2,940 sq. kilometres (1,135 sq. miles)
Benguet sub-province	..	2,800 sq. kilometres (1,080 sq. miles)
Ifugao sub-province	..	2,260 sq. kilometres (870 sq. miles)
Bontoc sub-province	..	1,900 sq. kilometres (730 sq. miles)
		<hr/>
<i>Mountain Province</i>	..	13,900 sq. kilometres (5,350 sq. miles)

As such, the Mountain Province is the fourth largest of the forty-eight provinces in the Philippines, being exceeded in size only by Cotobato, Davao, and Palawan. Actually it comprises almost one-twentieth part of the archipelago. If figures for the mountain region as a geographic whole were taken instead of merely the political division within it, the area and proportion would be much larger.

Starting with the census of 1903, and indeed annually since the census of 1918, official statistics are available purporting to show the population of the Mountain Province and its subdivisions. There are also a number of unofficial

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

estimates. Unfortunately the 1918 census, the only comprehensive attempt to make an individual count, was taken in the midst of the great influenza epidemic. This, and certain difficulties of classification that led indeed to the presence of two different sets of figures for non-Christian population in the published results, make the statistics rather doubtful, especially for some districts. Later official totals, as given in the annual reports of the province, have been compiled not from actual re-counts but rather, in most municipal districts, by merely adding to the 1918 census the recorded births and subtracting the recorded deaths year by year. As these vital statistics are acknowledged as incomplete, except perhaps in several districts most under government control (and this applies especially to deaths), the original possibility of error has been progressively increased. When there is added the fact that boundary adjustments have been extensive and temporary migration is constantly taking place between sub-provinces and out of the province, it can be realized why the whole matter of the mountain population is obscure. Not only are the contemporary totals uncertain but also no valid generalizations concerning trends of increase or decrease can be made when the figures are placed in time sequence.

Recognizing, then, the unsatisfactory nature of the material, and pending another comprehensive census count, the latest population figures available may be set out. They are taken from a survey by municipal districts (page 103) made as at December 31, 1932, at the request of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. In some instances municipal treasurers did attempt a re-count, but for the most part the usual additions and subtractions, or even the totals of the previous year, were given. Wherever a re-count appears to have been made, the fact is indicated by an adjoining asterisk(\*). The figures for each sub-province are tabulated separately, followed by an analytical note.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Apayao (Table 1) is the most sparsely populated portion of the Mountain Province, having only eight inhabitants to the square mile. Indeed it is the least settled area of the whole archipelago. No other province or sub-province has less than ten to the square mile, and the average for the Philippines is approximately 114.

Unfortunately no distinction is made in these official estimates between the different ethnic groups of non-Christians. Previous to a thorough exploration of Apayao

TABLE 1: APAYAO

Municipal District	Non-Christians (Isneg, Negrito, and Kalinga)	Christian Lowlanders	Westerners	Totals
Bayag .. ..	1,465	592	—	2,057
Conner .. ..	1,751	206	—	1,957
Kabugao .. ..	3,580	276	4	3,860
Luna .. ..	260	1,496	—	1,756
Namaltugan ..	1,512	35	—	1,547
Taut .. ..	1,010	321	—	1,331
<i>Apayao</i> (total) ..	9,578	2,926	4	12,508

all estimates of native population gave figures over 20,000. The census of 1918, however, taken when the region was being ravaged by the influenza, gave a total of only 10,696. Since then the totals have ranged from 10,750 to 8,530, in a succession of drops and rises the former of which apparently correspond to transfers of territory to the Cagayan province. Doubtful as are the totals, the number in each ethnic group is yet more dubious. The officials have no exact idea of the size of the remaining Negrito groups, though it is said that Negritos who formerly inhabited Ilocos Norte have now died out or joined their fellows to the west. A large section of swamp land in east

## *Spanish and American Penetration*

Apayao marked on official maps "unexplored" but inhabited by Negritos was recently transferred to Cagayan, so that they now fall under the jurisdiction of that province. The official guess is that the number of these people left in Apayao is "about 500." This represents a great decrease from former days, and undoubtedly the fall will continue.

Counting the main population group, the Isneg, is complicated by the fact that in recent years numbers of Isneg families have fled from their regular living sites so as to escape the burden of government taxation and the compulsory school law. Known as the *natalao*, "those who run away," they are settled or wander nomadically in the fastnesses of northern Apayao and Ilocos Norte, or else across the border in Cagayan, where they are more or less entirely outside of government control. The numbers of Kalinga in the southern corner of the province are also doubtful. The municipal treasurer of Conner district embracing this region was uncertain when questioned, but estimated them as from 800 to 1,000. On this basis the Isneg would total some 8,200 plus an indefinite number not under government supervision. On the whole the Isneg and Kalinga population seems to be about stationary.

In 1922 there were 361 Christian Filipinos in Apayao; a decade later this total had risen to nearly 3,000. The great influx has been up the Abulog river and its tributaries, bringing into being the new municipal district of Luna. Settlement has also penetrated Bayag district in north-west Apayao—indeed the Langangan region became years ago so predominantly Ilocano as to be transferred to Cagayan. Settlers are also moving in from the east at Ripang in Conner. Malaria and lack of communications are the two great brakes upon such penetration.

Kalinga (Table 2) has 25 to the square mile. It is thus very sparsely settled, especially in the northern and eastern part. Here dwell the *kaingin* agriculturalists (Tabuk and

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Pinukpuk districts), and estimates of their numbers are just as uncertain as those for the Apayao peoples, due to migrations into the jungle fastnesses or else into Isabela province. The numbers of the village-dwelling, terracing groups to the south and west are somewhat better known. The 1918 census gave 25,352 non-Christian inhabitants in all Kalinga, but an official estimate of 1922 shows only 22,207. Subsequent figures are merely readjusted from the latter, and the rise of over 5,500 (Table 2) is accounted

TABLE 2: KALINGA

Municipal District	Non-Christians	Christian Lowlanders	Westerners	Totals
Balbalan ..	5,108	77	12	5,197
Lubuagan ..	6,490	233	2	6,725
Pinukpuk ..	3,786	120	—	3,906
Tabuk ..	2,417	193	—	2,610
Tanudan ..	3,286	12	—	3,298
Tinglayan ..	6,769	63	—	6,832
<i>Kalinga</i> (total) ..	27,856	698	14	28,568

for by the transfer of Tinglayan district from Bontoc to Kalinga. A recent official report asserts that the Tabuk and Pinukpuk people are liable to die off due to the heavy incidence of malaria among them. Granting that in both Apayao and this region malaria is an important factor in keeping population sparse, nevertheless the people must be sufficiently immunized to maintain their numbers or otherwise they would have been wiped out long since. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether the *kaingin* people in either Apayao or Kalinga are showing any marked tendency to increase. But among the sedentary peoples, where economic expansion has been possible in recent years, there seems to be an upward trend.



## *Spanish and American Penetration*

The Christian Filipino population of this interior sub-province comprises officials and their families, with a few merchants. Ilocano settlement is also creeping into the northern and eastern margins. All the westerners are American or Belgian mission workers.

Ifugao sub-province (Table 3, page 90) has 85 to the square mile. The census of 1918, taken when the epidemic was at its worst and numbers were dying or else fleeing to isolated parts, showed 66,280 Ifugaos. Official estimates other than that shown in column (b) indicate an upward tendency in population, and there is no reason to doubt that the losses of the epidemic at least are being made up. Lowlanders are concentrated mainly in the Kiangan district, which was the first under Spanish control, though few are permanent settlers. The westerners are again missionaries (except for a handful of officials and constabulary officers, this is so throughout the Mountain Province); the Asiatics are traders.

Bontoc (Table 4) has 71.5 to the square mile. Because of boundary changes since 1918, the census total of that year cannot be compared with the present figure so as to reveal population trends. On the other hand, the totals shown in the table are more accurate than those for the three sub-provinces already dealt with, as during 1931-32 a re-count was made in the form of a local census. Where, for instance, the adjustment of the 1918 figures in the light of vital statistics had given by 1931 in the district of Sabangan a total of 7,391, the actual count showed only 4,039; on the other hand, the central district of Bontoc, where the capital is situated, showed an unsuspected increase of 1,600. The evidence of officials and missionaries familiar with the area indicates that the Lepanto districts are showing a tendency to increase, but that most Bontoc settlements are barely maintaining their numbers. Little is known of the group of perhaps 1,800 Gaddang in the Calao region of eastern Bontoc, who are *kaingin* agriculturalists. Like their fellows

# Taming Philippine Headhunters

TABLE 3: IFUGAO

Municipal District	Non-Christians <sup>a</sup>		Christian Lowlanders	Westerners	Japanese	Chinese	British Indians
	(a)	(b)					
Banaue .. ..	17,988	14,774	84	1	1	—	—
Burnay .. ..	13,218	10,604	30	1	—	—	—
Hungduan .. ..	10,493	10,063	26	—	—	—	—
Kiangnan .. ..	14,663	10,000	380	4	2	2	2
Mayoyao .. ..	16,793	8,400	95	—	—	—	—
<i>Ifugao</i> (total) .. ..	73,155	53,841	615	6	3	2	2

<sup>a</sup> The special census of December 31, 1932 [figures given in column (b)] purported to show that the population of Ifugao had fallen off by nearly 20,000 from the current annual estimates given in official reports. There has therefore been included the latest figures from the latter source, namely, the provincial report for 1932 [column (a)] for comparative purposes. Dr. Beyer, of the University of the Philippines and an outstanding authority on Ifugao, rejects both these totals and maintains that an accurate census would show the population of Ifugao to be close on 100,000.

# Spanish and American Penetration

TABLE 4: BONTOC

Municipal District	Non-Christians <sup>10</sup>	Christian Lowlanders	Westerners	Japanese	Chinese	Others	Totals
*Banao .. ..	2,919 (L)	27	—	—	1	—	2,947 <sup>*</sup>
*Barlig .. ..	1,942 (B)	12	1	1	—	—	1,956
*Bauko .. ..	6,371 (L)	69	2	—	1	—	6,443
*Besao .. ..	4,219 (L)	13	3	—	—	—	4,235
*Bontoc .. ..	11,067 (B)	475	17	9	4	1	11,573
*Kayan .. ..	4,960 (L)	53	1	—	1	—	5,015
*Natonin .. ..	4,648 (B) (G)	44	—	—	—	—	4,692
*Sabangan .. ..	4,039 (L)	44	1	—	—	—	4,084
*Sadanga .. ..	3,224 (B)	5	—	—	—	—	3,229
*Sagada .. ..	6,617 (B)	31	14	2	—	—	6,664
*Talubin .. ..	1,333 (B)	7	—	—	—	—	1,340
<i>Bontoc (total)</i> .. ..	51,339	780	39	12	7	1	52,178

<sup>10</sup> The predominant ethnic group in each district is indicated by a letter: (L) means Lepanto, (B) Bontoc, and (G) Gaddang.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

to the north, numbers have moved into the wild fringe of Isabela to escape taxation and compulsory schooling, though in 1932 some were returning.

Lowland Filipinos have for long been in Bontoc and other main centres of the region as officials and merchants. According to the 1918 census, indeed, there were more at that date than at present. From 1922 to 1928 there were over 1,100; but by the latter date some began to move out, as apparently there were not enough remunerative work avenues to support so many. Each year to 1932 was marked by a drop, reaching by then the total of 780. Being a centre of missions and trade, the Bontoc district has a considerable group of westerners and Asiatics. As in other parts of the mountains, however, few non-natives are found in the more isolated districts.

Benguet (Table 5) has 53 to the square mile, by these figures. The asterisks show that those districts nearest to Baguio or on lines of direct communication made a new census, while those more isolated continued to send in their old figures without a re-count.

The census of 1918 gave a total non-Christian population for Benguet of 35,761, while earlier estimates place the figure at considerably less than this. The census of 1903, for example, showed only 21,828. The apparently remarkable growth to over 51,000 by 1932 is accounted for in part by the transfer from Bontoc to Benguet in recent years of three municipal districts, Bakun, Ampusungan, and Mankayan, giving an additional population of some 7,850. An increasing migration of non-Christians from the northern sub-provinces to work in the gold mines around Baguio has also swelled the numbers; there are perhaps 4,000 such temporary residents now in Benguet, nearly all in Itogon and Bokod. Furthermore, there is a tendency for the more conservative of the non-Christians in the Amburayan and Cervantes valleys, since 1920 annexed to Ilocos Sur, to move back

# Spanish and American Penetration

TABLE 5: BENGUET  
(excluding the City of Baguio)

Municipal District	Non-Christians <sup>11</sup>	Christian Lowlanders	Westerners	Japanese	Chinese	Others	Totals
*Ampusungan ..	1,226 (K)	6	—	—	—	—	1,232
Atok ..	5,726 (I)	26	2	—	—	—	5,724
Bakun ..	3,211 (K)	24	—	—	—	—	3,235
*Bokod ..	4,580 (I)	15	4	—	—	—	4,599
*Buguias ..	3,540 (K)	25	—	—	—	—	3,565
*Itogon ..	6,237 (I)	4,545	97	53	19	—	10,951
Kabayan ..	3,347 (I)	24	—	—	—	—	3,371
Kapangan ..	5,476 (K)	31	1	1	—	—	5,509
Kibungan ..	3,351 (K)	15	—	—	—	—	3,366
*La Trinidad ..	4,016 (I)	399	5	60	80	—	4,500
Mankayan ..	3,405 (K)	15	3	1	—	1	3,425
Sablan ..	1,833 (I)	146	—	4	—	—	1,983
*Tuba ..	2,403 (I)	215	1	—	—	—	2,619
*Tublay ..	3,204 (I)	54	1	1	—	1	3,261
<i>Benguet (total)</i> ..	51,555	5,540	114	120	99	2	57,430

<sup>11</sup> Districts marked (K) are predominantly Kankanaï, those (I) are Ibaloi.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

before Ilocano penetration and so pass over the boundary into Bakun and other north-west districts. Certain boundary readjustments with La Union Province to the west have caused the population numbers to fluctuate, and indeed there is a fringe of Ibaloi and Kankanai settlement along the edge of the mountains where the political classification is uncertain due to the fact that families own lands in both the Mountain and La Union Provinces or Ilocos Sur and move back and forth. Even in the eastern districts of the Agno river valley there is a like fluctuation, as families move across for longer or shorter periods into the mountains of Nueva Vizcaya to make *kaingin* clearings or tend stock. Supplementing such adjusted statistics with the considered opinions of officials and residents, it seems that in recent years the Benguet population has been increasing only slowly, but this trend should continue.

Other than in Baguio, which forms a separate jurisdiction not included in the Mountain Province, the lowlanders in Benguet are concentrated almost entirely in the mining and saw-milling district of Itogon. They comprise Ilocanos and Pangasinanes, with a scattering from other Filipino groups. The only westerners besides officials and missionaries in the province are also here, as executives, engineers, and the like. The Japanese are engaged in vegetable growing or trading. Together with a considerable group of their fellow countrymen in Baguio, they comprise the second largest concentration of that nationality in the Philippines, being outnumbered only by the Japanese community at Davao in Mindanao. The Chinese are practically all operating gardens, and the valley of La Trinidad, where they and the largest number of Japanese lease agricultural plots, has been since about 1922 a real Asiatic centre. Out of the many thousands of western tourists who come to Baguio annually, numbers make temporary visits to parts of the province.

Over the Mountain Province as a whole, therefore, there

# Spanish and American Penetration

## MOUNTAIN PROVINCE

Sub-Province	Non-Christians	Christian Lowlanders	Westerners	Japanese	Chinese	British Indians	Others	Totals
Apayao .. ..	9,578	2,926	4	—	—	—	—	12,508
Kalinga .. ..	27,856	698	14	—	—	—	—	28,568
Ifugao .. ..	73,155*	615	6	3	2	2	—	73,783
Bontoc .. ..	51,339	780	39	12	7	—	1	52,178
Benguet .. ..	51,555	5,540	114	120	99	—	2	57,430
Mountain Province .. ..	213,483	10,559	167	135	108	2	3	224,467

\* Approximately.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

are some 42 people to the square mile, as against 114 over all the Philippines. The total population shown may be compared with that of the 1918 census, approximately 210,000, and that of the 1903 census, about 185,000.<sup>12</sup> Certain unofficial estimates, however, have placed the population much higher: thus in 1927 Dr. Beyer calculated the numbers to be around 285,000. Except for the pigmies, the mountain peoples are showing no signs of disappearing, but rather seem to be increasing slightly, though not nearly as fast as are the Filipinos of the lowlands.

<sup>12</sup> That is the original figures of 227,633 and 202,972 respectively, adjusted in the light of boundary changes.



## CHAPTER IV

### OVER THE ADMINISTRATOR'S DESK

THE Mountain Province to-day, like the other non-Christian regions, forms a dependency within a dependency. If independence comes to the Philippines as a whole, such an area must long continue to have a kind of administration akin to those of dependencies and colonies elsewhere. The Filipinos will have to assume the final responsibilities of governing "backward" peoples that under the present regime are retained in the hands of the American Governor-General and his appointed deputies.

In this chapter the system by which the affairs of the Mountain Province and its people are administered will be examined more minutely. On the one hand this will show how far the aims formulated by American and Filipino leaders are being realized, the degree to which political assimilation is under way, and the mountaineers are acquiring "the knowledge and experience necessary for successful local popular self-government." On the other hand it should reveal something of how the region would stand as regards policy, leadership, and popular sentiment in an independent Philippines.

The modern political organization of the Mountain Province is derived from several sources. Where it touches the mountaineers directly in their scattered communities, it draws much from the old native forms of political and social life. Its more formal organization, legislative and executive, central and local, which had nothing even remotely corresponding to it in the native polity, is, like so many of the modern Philippine institutions, an American remodelling of Spanish-Filipino forms developed in the lowlands.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

The actual machinery of administration has four general and a number of special working sections. In Manila, the capital, are a series of central units: the Office of the Governor-General, the two Houses of the Philippine Legislature, the Department of the Interior, and the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. They generate the policies for all specially organized provinces and groups of non-Christians. Likewise they provide most of the power in the form of personnel and of financial subsidies. These are transferred to the local units mainly through the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, but also by way of the general government departments and bureaux dealing with such matters as health, education, justice and public order, forestry, land, public works, and economic development. In the Mountain Province itself there are three general mechanisms: a "provincial government" at the capital town, Bontoc, with legislative and executive powers; "sub-provincial governments" of a less formal character, and with executive authority only, in the five sub-provinces; and "municipal district governments" numbering forty-two in all, with certain powers of local initiative. There are also provincial, sub-provincial, and district units dealing with such matters as health and education, harnessed to their central department bureaux at Manila and to the main units of administration in the province itself.

### *The Central Organization*

The Jones Act, supplemented by a revised administrative code of 1917, re-aligned somewhat the responsibility for non-Christian affairs hitherto vested in the Philippine Commission (legislative) and the Secretary of the Interior (executive).

Non-Christians were given direct representation in the new Philippine Legislature. Out of twenty-four Senate

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

seats, two were allotted to the nine special provinces, which were thus constituted the twelfth senatorial district. Nine seats out of ninety-six in the House of Representatives were similarly reserved for their members, three of them being for the Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya. But instead of these positions being elective as for the rest of the Philippines, their incumbents were and are appointed directly by the Governor-General. For the most part, and increasingly, such senators and representatives have been chosen from among the educated leaders of the non-Christians themselves. Already several mountaineers have won respect from their fellow members in the legislature as having acquitted themselves successfully in the Manila setting.

All legislative acts are subject to veto by the Governor-General. Any matter relating to non-Christian affairs must therefore pass through his office for review. The Governor-General is also vested with executive powers which he can exercise on behalf of non-Christian welfare in the form of Executive Orders: provincial or municipal district boundary adjustments, for example, are effected in this way. In all such functions he works closely with the Department of the Interior under which the affairs of non-Christians are placed, and more especially with the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.

This latter is the main supervisory, co-ordinating, technical, and executive organization dealing with such minority groups, and its director has powers extending beyond the special provinces to non-Christian groups in regular provinces.<sup>1</sup>

In accordance with its defined aim (page 32) it can make recommendations concerning current legislation. It outlines general policies, usually in the form of "circulars" sent to

<sup>1</sup> See opinion of the Attorney-General rendered July 22, 1922, *Annual Report of the Governor-General, 1925*, p. 262.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

all the special provincial authorities (and made mandatory through formal assent by the provincial boards). It must defend the cause of non-Christians against would-be exploiters, and advise other government departments in dealings concerning non-Christians, where necessary curbing any tendency to sacrifice their special interests for the sake of bureaucratic standardization or paper efficiency. The ultimate purpose of the Bureau, according to its first director, is to abolish itself by ending the non-Christian problem and bringing the special provinces to an autonomy equal to that of the regularly organized provinces.

### *The Provincial Government*

"Chapter 63" of the revised administrative code of 1917, amended by Act No. 2878, provides for the Mountain Province and other special provinces a civil provincial government. The local executive powers are vested in a provincial governor, a *fiscal* (akin to a public attorney), and a treasurer, all appointed by the Governor-General, "by and with the advice and consent of the Philippine Senate."<sup>2</sup> The provincial governor and the treasurer, acting with a "third member," make up a provincial board in which

<sup>2</sup> From 1905 to 1919 the local administration had been defined by "The Special Provincial Government Act," formulated as a result of earlier experience in the mountain area and elsewhere. In the latter year, as part of a reorganization scheme by which the Department of Mindanao and Sulu was abolished and its authority transferred to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the type of provincial government worked out in that Department (Chapter 63 of the Code) was applied to the Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya (Act No. 2798). This had placed the appointment of the provincial governor and treasurer in the hands of the Department Governor. Act No. 2878 transferred the powers of the Department Governor to the Secretary of the Interior acting through the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and placed the duty of appointing officials as above.

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

extensive legislative duties and powers are vested. The last-named official is elected triennially by a plurality of votes at a convention of municipal district vice-presidents and councillors (that is, local officials who hold their positions without pay). There are also other provincial officials—an auditor, an engineer, a health officer, and a superintendent of education—who are, however, all attached to the regular insular government bureaux.

The first provincial governors of the mountain region were Americans. From 1917 to 1924 the post was held successively by two Filipinos. Since then, two Americans of long experience in the Mountain Province have in turn had charge. Almost invariably in recent years the treasurer and other provincial officials have been Filipino, except for the superintendent of education, while the third member of the board has been a mountaineer.

By a dictum of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, a maximum of responsibility is devolved upon the provincial governor. He has, among other duties, to preside over the provincial board, proclaim laws, make periodic inspection trips—a large proportion of the governor's time is thus spent in actual contact with the mountaineers—and to supervise or where necessary suspend members of the staff for whom he is held responsible. The treasurer has charge of the finances of the province, and under him work treasurers in each of the municipal districts. The third member is not paid a salary, but receives compensation for his attendances at the meetings of the provincial board, which are held weekly. Among the duties and powers deputed to this board are various aspects of financial administration, the provision of provincial offices and school buildings, and the suppression of agricultural pests. Concerning ordinary affairs, resolutions of the board and executive orders of the provincial governor need only be reported to the director of the central Bureau. But exceptional financial transactions

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

such as making loans to municipal districts or extending the time of tax payments require his approval.

The provincial board in the Mountain Province legislates for the *poblacion* (Christian town) at the capital, Bontoc.<sup>3</sup> It also passes ordinances directly for twenty-two out of the forty-two municipal districts. To the other municipal districts, however, it has allowed the power of passing resolutions which, subject to its approval, become local municipal ordinances.

In a similar way the executive powers vested in the provincial governor have been devolved in large measure upon five "deputy-governors," one in each of the sub-provinces. The deputy-governors, receiving appointment from the provincial governor, to whom they are directly responsible, are sometimes referred to as "kings" of their respective jurisdictions.<sup>4</sup> Their offices in the sub-provincial capitals are the key units in the system of administration. Rarely is there a time but that the porch outside, if not the administrative room itself, is filled with a crowd of mountaineers squatting in their blankets, often from the most remote settlements in the area. Here a complaint, there a quarrel, or a question to be answered, a transaction witnessed, a marital affair adjusted, all the many matters, large or small, common or bizarre, that mark the concerns of the mountain folk come before these officials. On their monthly inspection trips the same occurs. Theirs is the personality that keeps the administrative machine in daily motion. In the last few years these deputy-governors have been Fili-

<sup>3</sup> The city of Baguio has its own municipal government more or less apart from the Mountain Province.

<sup>4</sup> This office received formal recognition until 1919 with the name "lieutenant-governor." When Chapter 63 was applied to the Mountain Province the position passed out of existence. So useful had it proved, however, that the system was continued in a more informal way by appointing deputy-governors under the provincial governor.

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

pinos, and in some instances of mountain or part-mountain blood. All are men who have been long in the mountain service either as constabulary officers or as civil officials, and so have an intimate knowledge of the people with whom they are dealing and a record of successful association with them.

## *Municipal District Government*

Every group of *barrios* (settlements—one of a number of Spanish terms retained in universal usage under the modern governmental system) has at some strategic point, usually the principal *barrio*, a *presidencia*, or local government building. Here are found the officials of the area—a municipal district treasurer, generally an Ilocano, and having on a minor scale in addition to financial duties a role corresponding somewhat to that of the deputy-governor; a *presidente* or presiding officer, being a native of the locality chosen and paid as the government executive; and a chief of police, with several subordinate policemen under him. Here from time to time report, too, a vice-president, and one councillor (*concejal*) representing each *barrio*, though without pay, the latter perhaps supported by a lieutenant councillor (*teniente*) and a group of *oficiales* from his constituency. The treasurer, *presidente*, vice-president, and assembled councillors are in certain districts allowed to meet as a district council with defined powers and duties.

The first units of local administration within the province and sub-provinces under the American regime were called "townships": a term adopted from the United States as suitable to describe districts where the population was too scattered to form municipalities as in the lowlands.

"The Township Government Act" of 1905 allowed to those areas deemed ready a considerable degree of local autonomy. Under supervision from the provincial board,

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

native township councils and township courts exercised appropriate powers, while the township officers other than the secretary-treasurers were elected with more or less formality by adult residents for a three-year term. In areas like Benguet and Lepanto there were townships well organized and practically self-supporting. In more remote or backward groups a simpler form of government was provided under the direct supervision of the provincial board.

Act 2798 of 1919 (footnote 2, page 100) applied to the Mountain Province Chapter 64 of the Code of Mindanao and Sulu, which dealt with "Municipal Government." In the reorganization that followed, the term "township" was changed to "municipal district," and the existing powers of local self-government considerably curtailed. This was not because the degree to which they had been extended to that time had proved a failure, but rather due to the exigencies of standardization. *Presidentes* were now to be appointed by the provincial governor for an indefinite term instead of being elected periodically, though elections for the vice-president of each district and the councillor of each *barrio*, both of which positions were honorary, were still allowed. The powers of native councils were reduced.

In 1922, however, at the suggestion of the director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, a system of informal elections for the position of *presidente* was re-instituted in areas where this was considered desirable—Benguet and parts of Bontoc (Lepanto by then was included in the latter). Such officials were once more chosen by popular vote, and their appointment formally confirmed in accordance with the letter of the law, a procedure continued to the present. Furthermore, the method of indefinite appointment was abolished in 1932 when a circular of the Bureau (No. 70) reapplied the earlier system of a three-year tenure of office for native officials, in the interests of greater efficiency. In 1924, too, the provincial board was requested



## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

to delegate certain of its powers back to municipal district councils akin to those of earlier years, in districts considered sufficiently advanced for such self-government, and this has been done. On the other hand, many areas of the Mountain Province were held to be as yet unready even for such responsibility as was bestowed by Chapter 64 of the Code, so that their officials continued to be appointed and their affairs administered directly by the provincial authorities.<sup>5</sup>

While therefore all settlements and geographic areas in the province are now grouped for administrative purposes into municipal districts, these are of two kinds. One group, twenty in all, to which Chapter 64 applies together with the additional powers devolved by the provincial authorities, are referred to as "organized municipal districts"; the others, still wholly under the provincial board, are "unorganized municipal districts."

The boundaries of townships and later of the municipal districts, in some instances dating from Spanish times, have been based directly on geographic and ethnic factors, thus facilitating the processes of government and avoiding unnecessary frictions.

Out of fourteen municipal districts in Benguet, thirteen are now organized. In Bontoc, seven out of eleven are organized. The five districts in Ifugao, the six in Kalinga, and the six in Apayao are all unorganized. As is natural, the organized districts are those which have been longest under close government control and thus have gained political experience, are compact, readily accessible by communications, and have sufficient economic resources to be wholly or largely self-supporting. The more remote and recently pacified districts, and areas where settlements are small and scattered or else poor, are held in the greater wardship. One

<sup>5</sup> See *Annual Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, p. 60; *Annual Reports of the Provincial Governor* (typescript), 1922, 1925, 1931, and 1932; also section 2630, Administrative Code of 1917.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

interesting sign of increasing political consciousness, even in unorganized districts, has been the desire of certain groups of settlements hitherto classed in a larger municipal district to break off and achieve municipal autonomy for themselves. In the four years to 1932 three new districts were formed in this way, making now forty-two in all, and the process will no doubt go on so far as the officials permit.

The real working authority within this system of local government is the municipal treasurer, who is appointed by the provincial treasurer subject to the approval of the provincial board, and comes under his direct supervision. He is the spur to the other local officials, the link with the higher authority, and the expert in all matters of government within his jurisdiction. In unorganized districts he is, within his sphere, a dictator, and the native *presidente* his executive figurehead. In organized districts he is, in slightly more disguised form, the power behind the *presidente* and his council.

In the latter type of municipal district, according to the letter of the law, the *presidente* must act as chairman at meetings of the council, appoint the chief of police and clerk (secretary) subject to the approval of the provincial governor, sit as justice of the peace in the absence of that official, and make inspection trips to all *barrios*. The vice-president takes the place of the *presidente* in his absence, and is a member of the district council. For the rest the personnel of this body comprises the councillors (*concejales*), each of whom acts as representative of his *barrio*. The councillors also play the role of government agents in their communities, informing the people of government laws, and reporting their will to the *presidencia*, also all events such as births, deaths, or crimes. The councillor has power to appoint not more than two lieutenants as his executive assistants in the *barrio*, likewise "substitute lieutenants" as their proxies in time of absence. These subordinates hold

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

their positions coincident with the service of the councillor. Though all such native officials other than the *presidente*, or the vice-president when acting as his substitute, must serve without pay, they receive exemption from the annual cedula tax.

The municipal district council, on which the treasurer serves as secretary-recorder, must hold meetings at least every fifteen days, such sessions being open to the public. It has to approve annually the budget of the municipal district, authorize all appropriations from its funds, determine licence fees, and arrange any other financial matters. It can recommend ordinances dealing with health, education, and other current affairs, and fix penalties for violation up to 200 pesos or six months' imprisonment or both. But all such actions must receive the approval of the provincial board together with other appropriate authorities such as the provincial treasurer or the health officer, before they become applicable. "Should the council or the *presidente* be dissatisfied with the decision of the provincial board, an appeal is allowed to the director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes"—a clause in the Code, however, which has never yet been evoked.

In the unorganized municipal districts there are the same officers, but their functions do not include those connected with the council. The latter are assumed by the provincial board. The finances of such unorganized districts are drawn from a common fund, into which all their revenues go, together with the necessary subsidies from the government. The municipal treasurers report on the needs of their districts and action is taken at the provincial offices.

The whole system of special provincial and municipal government, it may be said here, does not differ very radically from that existing in the regular provinces and municipalities of the Philippines—a wise move on the part of those formulating it. The difference is one of responsi-

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

bility. By Chapters 63 and 64 of the Code of Mindanao and Sulu a mechanism is already provided for creating "municipalities" out of municipal districts, and for applying the general Election Law of the Philippines to any special province, thus changing it to a regular province, when the director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes shall certify to the Governor-General that conditions justify the transfer. The Philippines is thus not due to have any such problem on its hands in the future as that presented by the Indian reservation system in the United States.

### *The System at Work*

More important than the letter of the law is the practical working of the system: always a series of compromises. In reality the power wielded by the *presidente* and other native officials by virtue of their government position is conditioned strongly by their personal standing and prestige in the native socio-political world. It is also limited by the fact that very few are even literate, let alone informed on the more technical processes of modern government. Similarly the working of each municipal district administration depends on the wealth of the inhabitants and similar factors. A rich mining district in Benguet has money to spend on an elaborate *presidencia*, waterworks in the main *barrios*, large schools, and other enterprises that could not be afforded even remotely by an isolated district of Apayao or Kalinga.

In Spanish times the *presidente* or *gobernadorcillo* (little governor) and the councillors were, so to speak, stewards charged with the task of exacting tribute from each community. Sometimes lowlanders, they were customarily influential native leaders more or less forced into the Spanish service. In the latter instance they were usually either broken, or "made"—they might either lose their standing, and very often their personal wealth, or else succeed in

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

using their official position to strengthen their dominance over their fellows, especially by the accumulation of lands and fortune. In Benguet especially, the existing system of *baknang* control (page 58) tended to become exaggerated by this process. Such government agents received symbols of authority in the form of special titles, uniforms, canes, or badges.

Under the elective system introduced with township government in Benguet and certain other areas, all adult residents had the opportunity to vote for their local officials. This was done in public meetings presided over by the provincial governor or his lieutenant-governors, where the individuals aligned themselves beside their favourite nominee. In later times a simple method of secret balloting has been worked out—using colours to distinguish candidates. According to the annual report of the provincial governor for 1932, however, even this has not proved entirely satisfactory, as it is beyond the understanding of some of the voters.

In certain organized municipal districts of Bontoc the system of informal elections has been withheld, and appointments are made directly by the provincial authorities. This is the outward result of certain tendencies inherent in a system which is interlocked with native "politics." It has been found that some conservative communities, if allowed to elect their own officials, will select persons whose standing is so unimportant that they dare not bring pressure upon or interfere with the people on behalf of the government. Once elected, they can be ignored and the community left in peace. Again, the important and influential men of a community will not burden themselves with official responsibilities, other than perhaps the office of *presidente* which carries a salary, unless they are thrust into the position by the higher authority. On the whole they have preferred to exercise their influence regarding government matters from

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

behind the scenes. While this situation is common to politics everywhere, it becomes serious in such a frontier area, where the government needs to have working with it to the utmost extent possible the important native leadership, so as to avoid obstruction and gain prestige for its activities.

The first moves of the American officials to introduce local self-government were greeted with enthusiasm. Elections, together with the choosing of political centres, were attended with considerable rivalry. To-day the whole system is taken for granted and has fallen into place alongside, and more or less bound up with, the native socio-political organization. The *presidente* signs or places his thumb-mark on documents presented to him by the treasurer. He visits the *barrios* periodically. Where matters connected with local custom arise, as in determining the ownership of land and animals, or settling disputes on water rights, he is called upon to adjudicate, either by himself or with the help of the appropriate councillors. He receives official visitors and represents his district when occasion demands. The councillors report regularly on matters in their *barrios*. When requested by the various government authorities, they remind delinquent taxpayers of their responsibilities; order the families to send their children to school; gather road-tax labourers; or distribute seeds and seedlings. The people come to the *presidencia* to pay their annual financial obligations, declare their property valuations, lay complaints against people of other *barrios* or even their fellows, meet some visiting official, or cast their vote in an election.

In organized districts the councils assemble at the required intervals. Rarely, however, do they deal with proposals or recommendations coming spontaneously from the native officials themselves—a fact confirmed both through the experience of every government official consulted, and by an examination of the minutes of the provincial board to

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

which such matters must be referred. This is a most important point in evaluating the readiness of the people for self-government. What really happens is that practically all measures dealt with emanate either from the municipal treasurer or from the provincial board. The former usually concern financial matters, and are the result of preliminary conferences between the treasurer and the *presidente*. The latter are drawn from a set list of specimen ordinances distributed by the provincial authorities as fitted for enactment by the councils. If, however, the provincial board sees fit to prepare some new ordinance and apply it direct to the unorganized districts, it customarily sends a copy as a remit to the organized municipal districts with instructions either to confirm, or merely to consider it, according to its importance. Once the council has passed such a resolution it goes to the provincial board once more for formal approval before becoming local law. There are, from time to time, instances where members of the council protest against, or suggest amendments to, current proposals. The matter is then explained or sifted by the treasurer; rarely if at all does any foolish or unnecessary recommendation pass over his desk to the provincial board.

The degree to which this system of local government fits into, conflicts with, or supersedes the native polity, varies from area to area in most interesting and important ways. Where the main control is vested traditionally in certain families, the wealthy *baknang* class, the smoothness of operation depends upon the correlation between the will of the government and the desires of the *baknang*. Fortunately, the region where this form of social organization now reaches its greatest development—among the Ibaloi and Kankanai—the representatives of this class have thus far been almost invariably aligned with the authorities and official policies, and the most influential individuals are, or have been, in the government employ.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

In complete contrast to this, yet equally favourable to present and future administration, is the situation in remote Apayao and among the dry agriculture people of parts of Kalinga and Bontoc. Here the old-time leadership was based on achievement in warfare; authority above that of the head of the family lay in the hands of men called *maengol* or "bravest."

But under modern conditions the essential test of such bravery—headhunting—has become obsolete, and there is no new test by which *maengol* individuals can be made. The last of the *maengol* are now dying off with old age, so that no other super-family authority exists except the government official. True, a tendency is already under way for the more enterprising families, particularly those of *maengol* descent, to rise to a new leadership based on economic standing—a *baknang* class in embryo. But for the present the word of the native official, coached by the treasurer and other government representatives, remains the final authority.

Two situations rather parallel to this exist in parts of the sub-province of Bontoc. In 1932 the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes requested from all municipal district authorities the names of leading natives within their jurisdiction. From Talubin, a district famed for its old-time warriors but so poor that no families are outstanding by reason of their wealth, came a reply from the *presidente* that—

"there are no acknowledged leaders of the people in this district except the municipal officials or the government officials, for the reason that all the people are now completely under government control (as a result of) which finally the words of the old men are no longer effective for the control of themselves. . . ."

From Sagada, a centre of intensive work by the Episcopal Mission for some three decades, and where, high up on a mountain plateau, what is virtually a small American town



## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

has come into being, the corresponding report told that there were "no acknowledged leaders except the officials"; that though old men still living were "recognized leaders before, their words to-day have but little effect on the young people."

The two examples show an important process at work affecting not only the political sphere but also the whole native life: a collapse or at least a weakening of the traditional authority in many communities. From the immediate viewpoint this may simplify the task of government. But the total results may be disadvantageous, unless the people concerned are learning to participate fully in the new political order. Yet the situations here presented are anything but typical of Bontoc, Lepanto, Ifugao, and southwest Kalinga.

In these areas, other than Ifugao, an elaborate town organization exists (page 47), and certain individuals and families have traditional functions and responsibilities of leadership in relation to the community. In olden days three main voices were heard in the socio-political sphere: those of old age, of warrior bravery, and of a *baknang* caste. All three were potent, too, in Ifugao, though in a very different social setting (pages 51-7). The middle voice is in Lepanto already only a memory, as it has long been over most of Benguet, though it still remains strong around the Bontoc *ato* (council place) and is regarded in Kalinga and Ifugao. Old age, too, needs—nowadays at any rate—"a little wealth" to give it undisputed prestige. Making allowance for this, the say of the oldest, "very wisest" man and other older men with special titles and functions, either individually or in family and group councils, are controlling factors in the area. Familiar with the ancient lore, masters of religious and agricultural ceremonies, interpreters of omens, adjudicators of disputes, privileged members of both family and community, they have the general welfare largely

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

in their hands. The *presidente* or councillor, rarely being over middle age, as otherwise he would be unfit for his duties, often finds himself, willingly or under social compulsion, sitting respectfully at their feet for advice on current governmental matters. Needless to say, in regions where the older generation forms a more organized leadership, as in a town or *ato* council, conservatism tends to be the order of the day; the government must "go slow" in introducing changes, seeking always the psychological moment and means. Yet here also those now ageing are finding it difficult to win the repute held by the elders who are passing. Bauko, in Lepanto, for instance, though it has its *lakai*, old men, goes to the *barrios* of Guinsadan, Banao, and Otukan to consult aged individuals there on all very important matters. The younger generation of to-day, among whom beliefs and sanctions are losing their rigidity, has a certain sophistication, even a scepticism, about the contemporary seers. There are individuals who refuse to listen to their words altogether. Respect for old age there will always be, of course, as elsewhere in the Philippines, but within a few generations its absolute authority and extensive functions within the group are liable to be greatly reduced.

The voice of the *baknang*, in theory extending only to socio-economic matters, inevitably tends to have a strong influence in things socio-political, and increasingly so in these days of peace and commerce. According to his wealth and descent—whether he be reckoned a first, second, or third class member of the caste, a most important factor in nearly all communities—his leadership is important, at least among the circle of those in debt to or dependent on him. The government in many areas could ill afford to go outside his ranks in choosing its officials. Yet here, too, modernism is penetrating. Certain children of non-*baknang* families, gathered into the mission establishments and government

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

schools, have achieved educational attainments that bring them to leadership and comparative wealth, also into the ranks of government officials. The influence of wealth is on the increase; but the caste exclusiveness, though still recognized within the *baknang* group, which even yet resents marriage outside its traditional ranks and discriminates against those of lesser birth, is slowly breaking in the face of American principles and of the new economic opportunities. Actually in Lepanto a leading *baknang* remarked that the term was becoming one of opprobrium, while educated younger people would mention it with a (perhaps envious) laugh.

In a general survey such as this, it is impossible to specify district by district the present status of the native leadership here outlined, and its significance for government policy. Yet sufficient has been indicated to show how closely the government system is bound up with and even dependent upon it. This situation is likely to continue, particularly in areas like Bontoc, Kalinga, and Ifugao, for a very long time, as social changes proceed slowly. Any sudden move that antagonizes such a traditional leadership, fortunately avoided to-day as a result of accumulated official experience and of some rather strained incidents of the past to be referred to in due course, will bring the likelihood of anti-government intrigue and perhaps open trouble.

## *The Mountain Leadership*

A main element in the policy of assimilation has been to produce individuals from the mountain peoples themselves capable of assuming the tasks of leadership within the province.

Mountaineers were from early American times appointed to subordinate positions in the provincial government and as municipal officials and constabulary soldiers. In the more

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

technical positions, however, especially where literacy was needed, this for a long time proved impossible. As one feature of the Filipinizing of the non-Christian administrative service from 1916 on, emphasis was laid on the desirability of giving the educated non-Christians then beginning to come out of the schools such posts in the government as they were capable of filling. Meanwhile promising pupils were sent for special training as school-teachers, medical practitioners, nurses, sanitary inspectors, and agricultural and livestock experts.

In 1924 the Council of State of the Philippines endorsed a policy adopted by the Governor-General of appointing natives from non-Christian provinces in the different bureaux and offices of the government as an exception to the Civil Service Rule, and with exemption from the prescribed examinations. Whenever any position in the special provinces was to be filled, the authorities had first to explore whether or not any non-Christians were capable of doing the work. Even where a Christian was appointed, a "history" of the effort to secure a non-Christian had to be sent to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.<sup>6</sup> Efforts were also made to place promising non-Christians in government offices in Manila in order to receive training and experience.

The results of this policy have been, on the whole, excellent. In all local departments to-day—the provincial governor's staff, the education, health, and engineering services—there are numbers of mountaineers, some in highly responsible positions, such as those of deputy-governor, provincial secretary, municipal treasurer, supervising teacher, health officer, and doctor. During 1932 a total of 721 natives were employed in the mountain service, of whom 34 were classed as insular officials, 274 as provincial, and 413 as municipal. Numbers of these no longer hold office under

<sup>6</sup> Circular No. 13, 1924, B.N.-C.T., "Employment of Natives."

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

the special preference policy, particularly among the higher officials, but are equal or superior in qualifications to Christian Filipino candidates.

Yet this is not the whole story. Several American administrators expressed in earlier years great fear for the consequences of the Filipinization policy, in that the mountain peoples might suffer from neglect, inexperience, and even exploitation. How, they said, could the Christian Filipinos develop suddenly a trained "colonial" service for non-Christians? They failed, however, to anticipate a rather unique development, in the mountain province at least, namely, that there should emerge a type of personality that might be termed a mountaineer-lowlander, splendid material for the necessary leadership. A number of lowlanders, mainly Ilocanos from Candon and other coastal towns who came to the mountain region as secretaries, traders, teachers, and the like in Spanish and earlier American times, threw in their lot with the mountain peoples, usually marrying Benguet or Lepanto women. Some of their sons and grandsons, sent for higher education in the lowlands, have returned to posts of responsibility in the government service. In racial and cultural terms they form an interesting link between the mountain and lowland peoples, and as officials they are able in a remarkable degree to appreciate the needs and points of view of the former. Some seem more "mountain" than the mountaineers themselves. Apart from these intermediate people, there are lowland Filipinos in the service who through long residence and employment in the locality have an almost equal experience. A proportion of these, too, are marrying into the mountain blood. There are individuals to whom such remarks do not apply—in every form of employment persons are found only interested in "holding a job." But on the whole the mountain region is in a more fortunate position regarding leadership than many similar dependent areas the world over.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

The mountain service, nevertheless, is not without its problems. It cannot go on absorbing an indefinite number of educated mountaineers. Already the saturation point is near to being reached. Yet the educational bias has been set toward the conscious production of leaders, and the schools continue to receive eager pupils whose parents dream of their occupying a post as teacher or clerk, and who themselves graduate in confident expectation of getting a well-paid government job. A number of disappointed individuals are already to be found in the centres—a nucleus of future discontent and perhaps disaffection. A related problem is whether it is really desirable to increase the proportion of mountaineers in the service much higher than it is at present, as possibly stimulating the very trend towards separatism which the policy was originally designed to break down; also as robbing the mountain people of a healthy competition and association with Filipinos from other parts that seems essential if individuals are ever to emerge to play roles on the larger Philippine stage. Where, it may be asked, does the balance lie between preparing a leadership for a fully autonomous, hence assimilated mountain population and providing experiences in the present that will develop competence and bring about that assimilation? How far, too, shall inefficiency be tolerated in an endeavour to retain the services of mountaineers rather than employ lowlanders?

Such problems form part of larger questions regarding the political destiny of the mountain province and its inhabitants which will be reviewed in due course. At least it may be laid down as a desirable policy that those of mountain or part-mountain blood who can qualify for any openings equally or approximately equally with lowlanders should be given the position. Their experience in the dialects, customs, and local conditions render a seemingly equivalent status far superior for purposes of administration,

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

while the possibilities of their influencing the people are infinitely greater. Moreover, in departments where a certain inefficiency is not dangerous—the health organization, for instance, would be excepted—it does not seem unreasonable still to allow somewhat for non-Christian inexperience. What the Harrison regime from 1915 on was as a training period for Filipino officialdom, so this period is for the mountain leadership.

### *Government Finances*

Since 1900, many millions of pesos have been appropriated from insular funds for developmental, social, protective, and educational purposes in the Mountain Province.

In 1930 the equivalent of approximately 178,500 pesos was collected from the inhabitants in the form of taxes and road labour, licence fees, cattle registration, and similar revenues. Of this, over 80 per cent went into the provincial treasury, and the remainder to municipal district funds. The gross expenses of the province in that year totalled some 590,000 pesos. Over 397,000 pesos were provided by the central government, of which 150,000 went to the maintenance of communications, 56,000 to educational purposes, and more than 190,000 to general funds. While this figure corresponds in part to expenses paid from the insular treasury to other provincial administrations for public works and like enterprises, a considerable portion, amounting annually to from 70,000 to 90,000 pesos, represents a direct subsidy to the Mountain Province administration.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the Auditor of the Philippines, 1930*, pp. 228–32; *Annual Report of the Provincial Governor, 1931*. It may be noted that, for the benefit of non-Christians living in regular provinces, the administrative code of 1917 required a “Non-Christian Inhabitants Fund” to be maintained by each province where non-Christians are found, and spent as approved by the Secretary of the Interior exclusively for their welfare.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Cedula taxes amounting to one peso annually are paid by every male over eighteen and under sixty years old in the Mountain Province and Nueva Vizcaya, as against two pesos throughout practically all the rest of the Philippines. Half of this revenue accrues to municipal district funds, half to general funds. The mountaineer, however, pays in addition a special road tax of two pesos or ten days' equivalent labour (page 81), to aid in maintaining the system of communications. The mountaineer thus meets an annual head tax of three pesos as against two paid by the lowlander; yet the latter has a heavier incidence of other taxation, as on real property, which more than balances this difference. Little difficulty is experienced by the treasurers and native officials in collecting these dues except in the more isolated portions and along the fringes, where people are still inclined to move over provincial boundaries or into unpatrolled areas in order to escape.

A property valuation tax is less appreciated. At the beginning of every year each landowner is required to declare at the *presidencia* all his parcels of real property, penalties being provided for non-compliance or falsification of the document. This is assessed for taxation purposes on the basis of its annual production of *palay* (rice on the stalk), or some equivalent measure, the *palay* being valued at from 10 to 15 pesos a *carga*.<sup>8</sup> Individuals owning land valued by this measure at less than 200 pesos are exempt from taxation. But owners of this equivalent or over must pay an amount usually of one-half of 1 per cent per annum—in the lowlands the minimum is seven-eighths of 1 per cent and the exemption only 50 pesos. Such income accrues to the funds of the municipal district concerned. Delinquent land taxes, however, can be paid with equivalent labour on local public works.

A Spanish measure—roughly the load able to be carried by one man.



## Over the Administrator's Desk

This system of property tax represents an expedient made necessary by the difficulty of surveying and of determining the boundaries of individual ownership in the mountain districts. Over the Mountain Province as a whole there were in 1932 more than 164,000 parcels of taxable land, of a total valuation of nearly ten and a half million pesos, while further property to the value of 1,300,000 pesos was exempt as being government or church lands. This taxable total is only surpassed by that of Davao and Zamboanga among the other special provinces. The taxes payable for that year amounted to over 54,300 pesos distributed as follows:

Benguet	..	..	23,570.87 pesos
Bontoc	..	..	12,740.86 pesos
Kalinga	..	..	8,637.73 pesos
Ifugao ..	..	..	6,427.32 pesos
Apayao	..	..	2,968.26 pesos

These figures form a good index to the political advancement of the respective sub-provinces. They also reveal a marked tendency, especially among the more isolated groups, to withhold lands from declaration so as to avoid tax increases. The semi-nomadic *kaingin* agriculturists particularly make no effort to declare all the clearings which customary right holds to be theirs and which are being left to fallow. Attempts on the part of officials to review the amounts declared, and re-assess property valuations in areas other than Benguet and Lepanto, have met with stubborn opposition, or else, in the language of a council resolution of Bontoc, a "despair and roaming in the woods." In Benguet and Lepanto the people are becoming aware that any land not declared may be assumed by homesteaders under the general laws of the Philippines, so that the declaration system works more effectively.

Every year the budgets for all provincial activities are sent to the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for formal

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

acceptance: that of the province as drawn up by the provincial board; those of organized municipal districts as approved by the council and the provincial treasurer; those of unorganized districts as prepared by the municipal treasurer and likewise approved; and those for education, health, and public works as assented to by the respective local department heads. From these estimates the amounts of subsidy necessary for the provincial activities are worked out for incorporation in the general insular budget, together with the expenses of running the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, financing special educational establishments for non-Christians, granting scholarships, and the like.

The organized municipal district pays from its own funds the salaries of the *presidente*, police, and sometimes the school-teachers; maintains the *presidencia* and perhaps the school; and where wealthy enough may initiate roading schemes, waterworks, markets, and similar improvements. Other than this, costs are borne variously from the insular and provincial budgets, supplemented in the unorganized districts with the municipal income.

### *The Christian Community in the System*

Where, it may be asked, do non-mountaineers stand within this political organization?

The City of Baguio has a special form of government akin to that of Manila. The *poblacion* (Christian town) of Bontoc is under direct control from the provincial board. Those immigrants to places outside these two centres comprise officials, traders, missionaries, and, in certain districts, settlers. But nowhere, except in the mining districts of Itogon and Bokod, in Benguet, and the new agricultural areas of Luna, Bayag, Tauit, and Conner, in Apayao, do these form any considerable percentage within the population, and only in Apayao are they permanently

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

resident. To the present, therefore, no move has been made, nor has it been urged, to give such people any special political status apart from that enjoyed by the mountaineers. Should they so desire, they are at liberty to retain their political affiliations with their lowland homes—many indeed pass back and forth periodically, thus maintaining a dual residence. For taxation purposes, however, lowland property owners in the Mountain Province are assessed at the regular Philippine scale instead of the special mountain rate.

Where a community has a sufficient number of immigrants, it is theoretically possible for the local government officials to be partly or wholly lowlanders. This was actually so in Cervantes and a number of other nearby towns before they were separated from the province in 1920. During 1903-04, the commencement of Ilocano penetration into the township councils of districts like Concepcion produced conflict and opposition on the part of the native leaders.<sup>9</sup> Now, however, that the Amburayan-Cervantes area has been cut from Mountain Province, the problem does not present itself in the same form. Apayao districts such as Luna are unorganized, so that all official appointments are made at the discretion of the provincial authorities; no councils exist, as places where indigenous and immigrant wills may conflict. In all the organized municipal districts the permanent inhabitants are so overwhelmingly native that the proposition of having a non-mountaineer among the local officials has apparently never arisen. Lowlanders have been appointed in the earlier years to the Philippine legislature as non-Christian representatives, but such a matter is so remote from the political experience of the masses as to be of no concern.

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Reports of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, vol. 1, p. 835; 1904, vol. 1, p. 520.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

### *The Development of Political Consciousness*

What gains, then, have been won so far towards the final objective of political assimilation? Judged not against the ideal standards but rather against realities elsewhere in the Philippines, how far are the mountain people achieving capacity for responsible government?

As a point of departure in modern times there existed, and still exists among most mountain communities, a strong spirit of internal co-operation, of family and group loyalty. This comes from old Indonesian-Malayan backgrounds that have been all too disrupted in lowland areas by the social pressures of Spanish days. To the outside observer it must appeal as a precious heritage. There is no better illustration of the way such a community sense operates in the modern setting than the readiness of towns and settlements to provide free labour for any governmental enterprise which shows obvious benefits. Every year lumber is cut and carried, school roofs repaired, waterworks and irrigation projects furthered, and many other cooperative tasks engaged in without charge to the authorities. In reality such activities are but an extension of many similar tasks in which the local groups engage for mutual service and pleasure—house-building, consummating traditional ceremonies, and—formerly—defensive and offensive warfare.

The same unity is apparent in the various types of sociopolitical structure, already referred to briefly, which form the foundations of the group life. Changing though these are under the influence of modern conditions, they show no tendency to break down suddenly, and the authorities can only afford to move with them rather than at cross-purposes. Wisely utilized, and perhaps subtly curbed, the old forms of authority and the established methods of discussing and making decisions on community affairs, are instruments ready to the hand of the government, now as in the past.

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

Even by accepted theory the way to develop larger loyalties seems to be not to destroy the narrower loyalties, but to nurture and expand them. In any event the realities of most areas make this the only practicable method. The old loyalties can only be outgrown by the long process of education.

Over the no man's land that marked off friends from hostiles, there have now been built pathways of considerable stability and a prospect of permanence. At least a peace based on fear of government wrath, in some places tolerance, here and there respect and cooperation, and, at least between individuals, many friendships and some marriages replace the older enmities. *Barrios* once hostile bring their taxes to the same *presidencia*. Infringements or differences between communities call forth arbitration, not arms. In certain respects community life has been re-orientated toward the house of the councillor, and on a larger scale toward the municipal, sub-provincial, and provincial offices.

Yet he would be very much an optimist who judges that such new intercourse has brought into being among the adult generation any extensive development of new super-group loyalties. An Ifugao may now know himself as an Ifugao because everyone calls him by that generic name; but in his own eyes and those of his fellows he is of Hungduan, Kambulo, or some other *barrio*. Districts in Benguet and Lepanto are undoubtedly moving beyond this stage to a wider consciousness of identity, but the process is slow and localized. Similarly the Kalinga recognizes himself as mountain-dweller with the Ibaloi as over against the Ilocano—he or his fellows have been to Baguio; but that does not intrigue either him or the Ibaloi to an extent that makes them feel any sense of political oneness as a mountain people. The *baknang* families of Benguet are “too proud”; the ordinary Benguet people, together with the peoples of Lepanto, Ifugao, and Apayao merely “want to be left

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

alone"; the Bontocs have a markedly conscious conservatism, and sometimes like to play upon their historical reputation by bullying or scaring their neighbours, especially in Lepanto; Kalinga, the area of greatest ethnic diversity and mobility, has its own welding to do. Yet it is probably the region of most promise in this respect, having a tradition of change and fusion that makes it more responsive to incoming influences.

"There are no politics in the Mountain Province." . . . "The natives give no heed to outside political activities." These typical excerpts from the annual reports of the province indicate, too, that general Philippine affairs are remote from the thinking of the great body of mountaineers. This was confirmed from every source—Filipino officials, American missionaries, constabulary officers—and by questioning the people themselves. Apart from visits by the Governor-General, the director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and other high officials, which bring the leaders a momentary personal contact with a political world outside, and except among those young people who have been to higher schools and, as being usually in the government employ, are in touch with current Filipino thought, the mental realm of the mountaineer is confined to immediate local affairs. An election of native officials every few years, likewise the nomination of a third member by those native officials—this is all the politics they know. Their other contacts are only with the executive, the judicial, and, to a limited extent, the advisory aspects of government.

Even that magic word "independence," often put before a group of mountaineers in the course of field work, evoked almost invariably a hesitant, and then anxious, or sometimes anticipatory, reply along lines such as: "Will that mean that the officials and soldiers will be taken away and headhunting will start again?"

Such a condition of affairs, however, is not due to any

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

neglect on the part of the authorities, or failure by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to press toward the goal of political autonomy. It arises from the very nature of the situation—environmental and cultural. Political consciousness, the aspirations of nationalism are not products that can be superimposed by legal enactment or verbal instruction. They arise from deep and often searing experiences such as the mountain people have had little occasion so far to face.

Meantime official efforts are being bent strenuously along lines of civic education. The subject looms large in school curricula and through the textbooks. *Presidencia* walls show posters dealing with general Filipino matters. Prominence is given to the American and Filipino flags. Philanthropic drives—Red Cross, Anti-Leprosy, Anti-Tuberculosis—among the Christian population have been extended as far as possible to the non-Christians. In the case of the Red Cross, various local chapters of which are formed in the province, some of the mountaineers have seen visible results in the activities of a local male nurse and emergency grants of blankets, food, and other goods where fire has taken toll in the *barrios*. In the capital and sub-capitals the Filipino calendar holidays are celebrated with processions of constabulary, police, school-children, and others. A gift of native wine by the officials suffices to get most of the local elders in the line, their bronze *ganza* (gongs) vying with the instruments of the band. In Bontoc, the capital, a statue of Rizal, completed in 1932, now serves as a visible symbol of Philippine history.

What of the younger people who have been given higher education opportunities, and are now looked to as a new leadership in the making? Civic instruction, inter-community athletic and other competitions at annual "Garden Day" festivals, intimate associations in the higher concentration schools, the impress of many vividly earnest teachers, a

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

corresponding outlay of insular moneys—what are the results?

Undoubtedly there is being produced among the schooled youth an awareness of identity in a larger human setting, even if much told them about affairs outside the province remains as remote from reality as the tales and poems about northern icebergs, European fairies, and Greek heroes scattered through their textbooks. Among the small number of really educated individuals, men and women, now scattered as doctors, nurses, teachers, clerks, and the like, the results have been all that are desired—and perhaps more. Such people can talk as intelligently on Philippine affairs and current problems as any other group of educated Filipinos. But delve deeper into the thinking of many or most of them, and it is found that they have ideas and emotions concerning the destiny of the mountain area and people in the Philippine life that would perhaps not be altogether acceptable to the orthodox lowlander.

In the first place they are intensely aware that the average Christian Filipino, in his relationships with the mountain peoples, cannot help but look down with superiority and patronage, even if not displaying open contempt. Exactly these same attitudes, displayed consciously or otherwise by Spaniards, and at least many Americans successively both in the Philippines and in the homelands, have undoubtedly been a major factor in producing the sense of fervent Filipino nationalism of modern times, the desire for separatism at any cost. Call it illogical, product of an inferiority complex, ungrateful, the vocalized ambition of a few unrepresentative if educated individuals, analyse its undesirable consequences in terms of social or economic realities—it remains as an intensely human fact. Unsatisfied, it stands in the way of all forward movement and local cooperation. Surprising as it may appear to Filipinos in general, an outside observer can see in miniature the phenomena of



## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

the independence movement in its early stages, though without its political objectives, now being re-enacted within the Mountain Province.

The educated Ibaloi or Kankanai know well that Ilocano mothers still frighten their children into obedience, or urge them to keep clean, by disparaging reference to the "Igorot." The Isneg resent strongly the inroads of migrants upon the ancestral territories of their people. The Bontoc and Lepanto see the overwhelming Ilocanization of the Cervantes valley. Though here and there an individual may be found who supports the movement for independence, as a whole the educated mountaineers oppose it heartily, fearful of its consequences in the form of neglect, exploitation, a breakdown of government, disorder, and a consequent policy of extermination such as now has its proponents for dealing with nonconformist Moro communities in the southern islands. Such a statement is based upon frank conversations with many individuals, almost invariably in private—it is not a sentiment expressed very openly. It forms a potential challenge to those who may be faced with the task of organizing and administering an independent Philippines, and a call for the utmost of sympathy and attention.

The desire for mountain autonomy—it can hardly be called a movement, though it has several times assumed organizational form<sup>10</sup>—does not run along national but along cultural lines. No political separation from the rest of the Philippines is even thought of. Rather there is desired a mountain province run by mountaineers in the same spirit as, say, the Tagalog or Visayan provinces are run by leaders of those groups, and having a similar role in the Philippine milieu. It is rather a struggle for cultural identity,

<sup>10</sup> Thus in 1924 a mutual aid association was formed among the Bontoc under an educated leader. This, however, was branded by the contemporary Filipino governor as a secret organization designed to overthrow the administration, and, due to such discouragement, was dropped.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

for articulateness within the Filipino world. It would, at least in the southern part, glorify what has become a term of opprobrium, "Igorot." A slogan, "The Mountains for the Igorots," is there being vocalized in the same larger cultural sense as is "The Philippines for the Filipinos." Just as the Filipino desires to take all that is best of western life while refusing to be Americanized, so these educated mountaineers want to take all that Filipino, especially Ilocano, life has for them, want to be Filipino, and are proud of being Filipino, without becoming swamped by Ilocos in terms of population, economics, and culture.

Just as, at the beginning of the study, the Philippine peoples as a whole were visualized as facing a task of achieving fusion and nationhood, so in the mountain region any realization of such hopes of the local leaders must be dependent on the working out of larger unities and loyalties among the diverse population groups. Above, a rather pessimistic picture was drawn as to the degree this has been achieved to the present or was in prospect. That it could be done ultimately, however, is demonstrated by the fact that, in the central schools, representatives of all mountain groups have come together with mutual respect, friendship, and even intermarriage. The staff of one mountain school has, along with lowlanders, a Benguet, a Bontoc, an Ifugao, and a Lepanto working in perfect harmony.

The facts and sentiments here outlined are capable of being resolved into several key questions that can be raised here but left for answer later. Is it best for the Mountain Province to be cut up progressively,<sup>11</sup> or for the mountain peoples as at present to be held together in a formal political unity? Is the identity of mountain groups to be submerged

<sup>11</sup> In 1932 a bill was before the Philippine Legislature proposing the separation of the sub-province of Benguet to form a special organized province. See a pamphlet by Representative H. A. Kamora, of Benguet, *Why the Sub-Province of Benguet Should be Made a Separate Specially Organized Province*, Manila, 1932.

## *Over the Administrator's Desk*

and crumbled by the steady flow of Ilocanization creeping over all northern Luzon, or will they have time to achieve wholly or in part a mountain identity? Which is better for the future Philippines—assimilation of the mountain peoples by piecemeal absorption or by building national loyalties on the remarkable structure of existing local loyalties? Must the rich patterns of the mountain life be smashed entirely to make the people into Filipinos?

## CHAPTER V

### JUSTICE AND PUBLIC ORDER

"JUSTICE," wrote José Rizal, the Philippine patriot, "is the foremost virtue of the civilized races." A number of eminent jurists have praised the Philippine legal system as comprised from the best elements of the Malayan, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon systems. To the eyes of the layman unfamiliar with legal technicalities, however, the Philippine law seems a rather bewildering combination of codes, not always entirely consistent, and in numbers of respects failing to conform to the accepted modes of behaviour of the people. Furthermore, as a historical survival, if not so much from present experience, the legal profession is regarded with distrust by the ordinary people as a servant of vested interests. Politics still mix themselves with justice at certain points, at least in terms of personnel and organization. A system of using assessors to assist the higher courts in making decisions (established in the Philippines in place of the western system of trial by jury which is considered unsuitable for Philippine conditions), has been allowed to fall more or less into abeyance. To-day judges, acting singly, are vested with powers even to condemn fellow beings to death or the longest terms of imprisonment, though an appeal is allowed to the Supreme Court. Even if the Philippines are a paradise for the *abogado* (lawyer), the legal system provides somewhat more of a strain than may be necessary between justice and human frailty.

The mountain peoples, however, as a result of their isolation, have been on the whole more fortunate than their lowland fellows in their historic dealings with the law. Allowance has been made for non-Christian inexperience in many matters. The existing statutes, too, have been

## *Justice and Public Order*

informally modified by local officials in the light of the elaborate systems of native customary law, so as to cause a minimum of interference with the mountain life. To facilitate arbitration and as a protective measure, a network of "extra-legal" process has been spread under official auspices through which only a residue of the more serious disputes, misdemeanours, and crimes escapes into the regular judicial channels.

## *The Problem of Public Order*

The paradox of the Mountain Province to-day is that it is at once among the most orderly and safe parts of the Philippines, and yet in many sections it is constantly on the verge of a relapse into the feud warfare and disturbance of former times. Those areas most isolated and nearest to the old headhunting days, Apayao, Kalinga, and Bontoc, are indeed the most outwardly peaceful. Three elements have brought this about: a remarkable wisdom and influence exercised by the civil authorities, the presence of posts and patrols of the Philippine constabulary, and, making the work of these two possible, an adequate system of roads, trails, and telephones.

Proposals have recently been made by legislators in Manila to reduce or withdraw the constabulary forces in the province, on the grounds that public order is now secure and the people well on the way to assimilation. While this is a tribute to the work of those Americans and Filipinos who succeeded in bringing the area to its present peaceful state, no greater error, in the writers' opinion, and confirmed by all those familiar with mountain conditions, could be committed. In Benguet, perhaps, reduction could be made, though indeed this sub-province has now the greatest incidence of crime as a result both of the "big city" influences of Baguio, and of the gathering there of large numbers of

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

men in the mining centres, many of them from *barrios* not long since hostile to one another. To remove the native constabulary force in the other areas would beyond a doubt be to undo the work of three decades, and make its repetition doubly difficult. Even in places such as Lepanto, long since pacified, the name "Bontoc" shouted at night is yet sufficient to make men spring for their spears. Without the moral force of the constabulary looming over all, communities would soon be on the defensive; a murder, even a woman's imaginings, would precipitate the offensive, and warfare and headhunting would once more spread. What the consequences would be for the Philippines as a nation, and in the eyes of the world in these days of newspaper and film publicity, or more immediately for the welfare of the mountain peoples, no one could dare foretell. Equally fatal would it be to limit public works appropriations to a degree that might seriously affect the efficiency of communications. The financial burden in the present difficult times of maintaining what to those uninformed seems a remote roading system is infinitesimal alongside the cost in money, also in human lives and Filipino prestige, that would result from a careless retrenchment.

Such a statement requires facts to sustain it. A little delving into the mentality and lore of the mountaineers will soon show that, except perhaps in southern Benguet and some of Lepanto-Amburayan, the old headhunting and the traditional enmities are just under the surface of the present generation's thinking; in much of Bontoc and southern Kalinga they are all but uppermost. "These people," comments a missionary of long experience, "remain headhunters at heart, and at least two generations of educated youth must come and go before it is safely eradicated." In Ifugao, all but monthly, tongues loosened by native wine cause *bolos* (knives) or spears to flash, and only sudden action by the constabulary, followed by arbitration between

## *Justice and Public Order*

families and the meting out of severe punishment to the offender evens the traditional balance sheet and prevents feuds being renewed. Cases where old people insult the young men and so get them to avenge an ancient wrong still come to light. In parts of Kalinga school-children have sought to escape the compulsory attendance requirements by "cutting and wounding" a fellow pupil and then refusing to go to school on the excuse that reprisals would be forthcoming from the pupil's relatives and friends. The turbulent *barrio* of Basao high on the side of the Chico gorge near the boundary of Bontoc and Kalinga has four constabulary soldiers permanently stationed near by in order to keep its peace with neighbouring *barrios*, especially Sadanga. The leading *maengol* (bravest) and wealthiest man in Apayao was recently imprisoned for killing the son of a rival *maengol*. No man or woman of Lepanto, and indeed few Christian lowlanders, would walk the trails after dark near Bontoc territory—conditions paralleled, too, on roads to the Benguet mines, where several crimes of violence have been committed recently by Bontocs from Barlig and Cadoclan. Throughout the largest part of the mountain area agricultural and other ceremonies are in full swing that are only lacking the heads of enemies to make them identical with the rituals of old time. Occasional sporadic killings and woundings occur throughout the province over such matters as marital troubles or water rights, and in the consummation of old feuds—what crime there is has a heartiness and robustness in great contrast to the sophisticated misdemeanours of civilization.<sup>1</sup> Even though the great majority of settlements are now "tame as old carabaos," as one aged man complained, it is only their confidence in the adequacy of government control and protection that allows them to be so.

Spread over a quarter of a million erstwhile "savages"

<sup>1</sup> From the *Monthly Narrative Reports of the Deputy Governors*, 1932, and *Annual Reports of the Provincial Governor*, 1922-32.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the present number of violent happenings is insignificant. But in evaluating the potential situation, should control lapse to any marked degree, they are of great importance.

### *The Agencies of Control*

The civil authorities, besides using every opportunity to foster good relationships between groups, have worked out several important methods of ensuring peace. As fast as was feasible, a law was passed prohibiting the carrying of spears and other weapons without a licence. This is kept scrupulously in some areas: the Lepanto people, for instance, customarily got permission from the *presidencia* to carry spears and shields as demanded for certain agricultural and religious ceremonies. On the other hand, no mountaineer except in southern Benguet would be abroad without his *aliwa* (headaxe) or *bolo* (knife) according to the custom of the area, for it is his tool for every purpose: his weapon, so to speak, needs no beating into ploughshare, for it is more or less one and the same. Further, a staff is handy for climbing mountains, and who can object if it be a spear handle into which, should by chance a need arise, the knife fits as a blade? An attempt to meet such ruses was made by forbidding equally the carrying of sharpened sticks or other spear substitutes, but naturally it is almost impossible to apply.

Another important law for the pacification process, suggested in 1927 by several *presidentes* of Kalinga and northern Bontoc who were famous warriors in their time, forbids the practice of certain customs and the use of certain words bound up with headhunting, the taunting of youths with impotence because they have not yet killed, and the boasting of war exploits both informally and ceremonially. These, the law asserts, not only insult other communities, but teach the young people and children "the wrong meaning



## *Justice and Public Order*

of bravery, honour, and respect." Still other ordinances introduce a system of passes for any extended travel within or outside the Mountain Province, and require councillors to report the presence of strangers in any *barrio*. But these, too, are rather difficult to enforce. The issue of gun licences is carefully supervised, and few are allowed into mountaineer hands.<sup>2</sup>

The most spectacular weapon of public order used by the civil authorities to-day is the "peace pact." In Bontoc and Kalinga old feuds were so potent between most of the *barrios* and disagreement was so rife among the present generation as to how the score now stood that peace was very precarious indeed. To provide a more solid basis of order than the fear of government reprisals alone, the authorities devised a mechanism of agreement which had a basis in old native organization: the peace pact. At a series of meetings between representatives of the *barrios*, all matters of enmity within living memory were bared and a final settlement reached, where necessary accompanied by indemnity payments in the form of money, carabao, precious jars, or other goods. Formal documents were signed or thumb-marked by the leaders for filing in the government records, and two outstanding men in each *barrio* appointed to act as "peace-pact holders," responsible for the good behaviour of their people from that time forward.

The story of peace pacts in recent years would make an interesting section in itself. In a number of instances the existing agreements have been violated or claimed to be violated through acts of aggression by members of one or other of the parties concerned. Further old scores were unearthed. Some of the peace-pact holders felt their responsibility too great and had to be changed. From time to time

<sup>2</sup> Ordinances of the Provincial Board, No. 41, 1927; No. 50, 1929; No. 58, 1931; Circular No. 2, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, 1920.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

negotiations were resumed to strengthen the pacts thus weakened. Thus in April 1932 a great meeting was held at Tinglayan on the fringe of Bontoc and Kalinga, where representatives of a number of *barrios* gathered to even the score once more through discussions and adjustments. While complete agreement was not reached between several groups, even after long and patient official efforts, most pacts were renewed successfully. The peace-pact method has also been extended to cover deep-seated enmities between families or even between individuals. A less formal method of arbitration, but with the same underlying principle, has been used effectively by the deputy governors in Apayao and other areas.

Over the mountains sound daily the silvery calls of the constabulary bugles, reminders of the power that lies behind the official word. The mountain division of the force totals 14 officers and 261 enlisted men, operating a patrol and guard system from eight main posts. This is a small force indeed in view of the rugged nature of the country and the demands made upon its services. At first purely a military police force, it has come to have in its ranks the pick of the native youth, and has acquired greatly widened functions. In the more remote districts particularly, the constabulary patrol under either an officer or a non-commissioned officer of long experience is "father and mother" to the people; every *barrio* is covered periodically, delinquent children are got back into school, government buildings repaired, health matters dealt with, complaints or troubles investigated, advice and help given on all manner of local or personal difficulties, and current conditions reported to the central authorities. The people combine the heartiest respect for the uniform with the best of relationships with the man inside it—so long as consciences are clear. Competent officers, the tradition of the service, and systematic training and organization maintain the morale at a very

## *Justice and Public Order*

high level. Most of the officers are lowland Filipinos, though a few Americans remain, and some mountaineers have won promotion. The intimate familiarity of the enlisted mountaineers with local customs and affairs establishes confidence and makes their work relatively easy. Such men, too, subjected to military discipline, freed more or less in economic and social terms from the local bonds, educated by their officers in a wide knowledge of matters varying from English, hygiene, and first aid to the laws applying in the province, and having opportunities for wider contact and experience, exercise an increasingly important influence for modernization upon their people.

The provincial offices, also the municipal districts, have their native civil police, of whom there are in all some hundred and fifty. These men, with few exceptions, cannot be compared in competence or prestige either with the constabulary or with the civil police of the regular provinces. They are mountaineers of the immediate locality, with practically no training or organization. Certainly they could not remotely grapple with the problem of public order unaided. Nevertheless they have their function in the general machine, as messengers and executives for the authorities under whose jurisdiction they are.

Crime is not hard to detect within the province, for most offenders lack the sophistication and furtiveness of the civilized wrongdoer. What more normal after a killing or successful encounter with a hostile party than to hold *cañao* (celebration—pronounced *kan-yao*) as prescribed by old custom, or at least to gain glory by telling the community, especially once a little wine has loosened the tongue? The constabulary have merely to use their ears in a land where news is carried by word of mouth instead of print, and a wanted person is generally able to be apprehended immediately. In many instances offenders yield themselves voluntarily, particularly in cases of killing, as they prefer

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the chances of official clemency to those of revenge on the part of relatives. Around Baguio and the mining centres alone, with their polyglot population and urban social conditions, is the detection of crime a difficult matter.

Yet far more potent in maintaining public order within the mountain communities is the ancient customary law of the people themselves.

Native custom, reported the provincial governor in 1926, "covers all personal and property relations and provides definite penalties for infractions. The violator, too, believes all manner of ill luck will follow him, and of course it does, and that fear, while the creed holds, is worth several companies of constabulary as a deterrent to crime." If a person is very bad, the Isneg say, the much-feared spirits (*anitos*) will eat his soul; but the soul of a good person goes to the skyland (*langit*), where joys are to be had and food does not even need to be cultivated or cooked; in the words of one who had picked up some English, "You just have to knock and the chow comes out." Possible offenders are further deterred by the fact that magical techniques are available, by which an offended person can work a potent curse bringing sickness or misfortune upon them.

The mountaineer lives in what is to him a logical universe. Peopled as it is with deities and subject to the constant play of spirit forces, it has to the westerner an unstable and fantastic character akin to that of the mythological age in his own lands. *Anitos* and spells, not mosquitoes, bacteria, and complexes are the basis of physical and mental disorder, and must be countered with appropriate prayers and rituals, accompanied by animal sacrifices and food offerings to the spirits. All activities are conditioned by the nature and interpretation of omens: rainbows and other weather signs, earthquakes, landslides, rolling logs, the flight of birds or passage of insects, conflagrations, falling furniture, unusual bodily sensations, dreams, and the like. In Lepanto a newly

## *Justice and Public Order*

built house will be pulled down and transferred to a new site, or else stand unoccupied for months, all because of the curiosity of a butterfly, lizard, or snake as to what humans were doing in the vicinity. Strange-seeming taboos are imposed under various circumstances. Compulsory religious holidays (*tengao, tungo*) are celebrated by communities as a whole at certain stages of the economic cycle and crises of social life. The father of a newborn child may not be allowed to cut down trees, build rice terrace walls, or journey to the lowlands until its teeth appear, or the mother to cross rivers or enter other villages for long periods while the spirit of the child is weak and liable to be harmed by ill-wishing strangers. The brother of a deceased person may not marry his widow—regulations and sanctions, however, that vary minutely from community to community. Most potent of all guides in the life of the mountain people is the ritual examination of entrails, especially the gall-bladders of chickens and hogs sacrificed in the many types of ceremonies. To the mountaineer this combines, so to speak, the functions of Biblical texts, stock reports, weather forecasts, and Dorothy Dix columns. Incidentally, beliefs, and even to some extent rituals of similar nature, overlaid with or adjusted to medieval Catholicism or newer religious beliefs, still govern in large measure the conduct of rural Filipinos of the poorer and less educated classes throughout the Christianized lowlands.

Such customary procedure is not written, of course. It is stored in the memories of and appropriately interpreted by special individuals, usually old people. Here, too, there is variation from group to group according to the particular developments of tradition and social organization. Thus throughout much of the Mountain Province it is primarily certain wise women who establish rapport with the *anitos* of sickness. In Ifugao and Bontoc the agricultural omens are defined by old men to whom the necessary knowledge was

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

passed by their forerunners. In parts of Lepanto the corresponding officer is nominated from among the elders, together with assistants in the various "wards" of the town; he is replaced if his wife dies (he cannot be a widower), or if the harvests are not good under his administration. In Benguet, Lepanto, and southern Kalinga there are "wise old men" to whom all omens and untoward events are referred for interpretation and prescription. Within the family group the elders define the conduct of their juniors, and preside on all ceremonial occasions. Most communities have a council of old men as a more or less organized entity to deal with group order and define behaviour (page 113).

The bulk of customary law is thus concerned with affairs that are completely outside the sphere of the modern law. While there are vast differences, therefore, between the two systems, there are few grave conflicts, at least concerning relationships within the community or friendly group. Here, on matters of which the modern law takes cognisance they are usually more or less in accord as regards general principles. Both, for example, condemn stealing or trespassing on the rights of others, guard the chastity of married women, and hold an oath inviolate. But the great weakness of native customary law lies in its differences in detail from *barrio* to *barrio* and area to area. Excellent for the internal ordering of a group of like culture and friendly political associations, it has no agreed prescriptions, say, for matters arising between Ifugao and Bontoc or Tinggian and Isneg, or even indeed in some matters between adjoining villages, where the old-time redress was usually warfare. Arbitration by outside authority is thus a corollary of modern conditions of wider intercourse.

The officials, from both wisdom and necessity, have made no serious attempt to interfere unduly with or run counter to the custom law or those vested with its interpretation, unless there is a drastic infringement of the statute

## *Justice and Public Order*

law or endangering of public order. Nevertheless clashes have arisen at times that have required delicate adjustment, if not the complete overruling of the native code. In a recent case, for example, a youth of eastern Bontoc was about to join his bride on the wedding night when a rainbow appeared in his path. Seeing so bad an omen, he turned back home, and proceeded to convey his affections elsewhere. A settlement was in order by native custom, but instead the girl complained to the authorities about her summary desertion. The persuasive efforts of the justice of the peace at last negated the forebodings of the rainbow, and the wedding was resumed. Again, for health reasons the authorities have had to demand burial of the dead within forty-eight hours, a measure which considerably modifies death customs, especially as relating to rich people. The government has also sought to reduce the excessive interest rates accruing to the rich *baknang* in his dealings with the poor. A justice in Lepanto ruled some years ago that the one-third yearly increase due there according to the terms of the customary code be reduced to 8 per cent. Where, however, a *baknang* registers a contract at the *presidencia* to-day which shows verbal conformity with the law, the amount he pays in actual money remains based still on native standards: that is, he deducts the additional interest due by customary law before paying over the loan; naturally the poor man is in no position to inform, or he will not get the money at all.

Perhaps the most outstanding difference in the realm of conduct that remains unadjusted between the native code and the statute law concerns customs of marriage and divorce. While these latter vary greatly from group to group, they have the common characteristic, along with those of Moro and other non-Christian communities in the Philippines, of allowing divorce on grounds much wider than those defined by the Philippine code, and in some areas

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

of permitting polygamy in various forms, thus contravening both the statute law and Section 14 of the Jones Act.

It has been quite outside the bounds of possibility for the authorities to enforce the current requirements of marriage registration, except among the few who are wedded under church auspices. "If you were to pay to the mountaineer the two pesos fee required for a licence instead of asking him to pay it," a missionary remarked, "then he might consider registering his marriage; but even then he would shy at the permanency of contract implied." Among the Isneg, and also among *baknang* families throughout the province, marriage is customarily a matter of contract between the families, often arranged during the early childhood of the parties, though such agreements can be cancelled later on if the young people are not happy about them. An Isneg has to pay heavily for his wife in precious jars and other goods, as she is an important working member of her family, and if he cannot pay sufficient he must go to live in the service of the girl's people. If he can afford it he will have several wives, and so will the Kalinga and the Gaddang; for women do nearly all the work on *kaingin* land. In Bontoc and Lepanto, among the ordinary people, young folk test out their compatibility in the house of unmarried girls (page 50), both the families later making a settlement on the couple if and when marriage is celebrated; but here monogamy is the rule, or rather one wife at one time. Amid many such differences in custom there are fairly universal standards by which a successful marriage is judged—the ability to produce children, and work capacity. In a society where conditions of life and labour are exceedingly strenuous, especially for women, so that offspring who survive are relatively few (the average number of living children to a mountain family appears to be under two), and where succession is valued and considered a duty to the ancestors above all else, successful rearing of a family is a life ambition.



## *Justice and Public Order*

A woman who can bear offspring is rarely put aside. On the other hand, infertility, especially after the exercise of various elaborate ceremonies in which the favour of the deities is sought to bless the unproductive marriage, is the primary ground for divorce.

The legal history of marriage regulations as relating to non-Christians is almost as strange as the customs themselves. In 1915 the Supreme Court of the Philippines, on which both American and Filipino justices were sitting, rendered a decision in the case of a Kalinga who assassinated a man whom he caught with his wife *in flagrante*—circumstances which under the statute law called for only a light punishment. It was ruled, however, that, as a Kalinga marriage could not be recognized as legal, not being registered in accordance with the marriage law, the victim was not legally an adulterer, hence the offence had the full force of murder. In the following year a case exactly similar met with the same ruling.<sup>3</sup> At both trials one out of the five judges presented a dissenting decision, on the grounds that—

“They make every child belonging to those (non-Christian) tribes illegitimate and the relations of their fathers and mothers immoral. These two decisions deprive those children not only of their legitimacy but affect their standing in regard to their property rights also.”

He pointed out that the decisions were also nullified by a section of the marriage law which provided that no marriage solemnized before a person professing authority should be invalid for want of authority or on account of irregularities, if the parties believe the marriage valid. In the later case of a Mohammedan woman,<sup>4</sup> where the delicate question was raised of the validity of marriage for the whole Moro

<sup>3</sup> U.S. versus Tubban, 1915, *Philippine Court Reports*, vol. 29, pp. 434-37; U.S. versus Verzola, 1916, *idem*, vol. 33, pp. 285-90.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. versus Mora Adong, 1922, *idem*, vol. 43, pp. 43-58.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

population, the judges took account of this provision and gave an opposite verdict, stating also that they were "free to admit that, if necessary, we would unhesitatingly revoke the doctrine announced" in the two previous cases.

The doubtful position in law of marriages among the mountaineers was clarified somewhat by a new marriage law approved in 1930. A special provision in this legalizes marriages performed according to tribal custom. But those formulating it do not seem to have realized that in native law marriage and divorce are bound together, and that the sanctioning of tribal marriage carries with it as an essential corollary the sanctioning of tribal divorce and even polygamy—in strict terms therefore there is still a serious conflict. For practical purposes, however, this legal anomaly has little immediate significance, as any prospect of the authorities being able to interfere successfully with current native practice is remote, at least in the more isolated regions.<sup>5</sup> The law on this matter will have to wait largely on the work of the schools and missions.

At the present time all justices of the peace and missionaries, together with the governor and deputy-governors, are authorized to perform marriages. One regret, however, on the part of both the officials and the missionaries is that the new marriage law failed to provide for the compulsory registration by natives of their custom law marriages, as is

<sup>5</sup> In reply to a question submitted by the deputy-governor of Benguet in 1932, the provincial *fiscal* rendered an interesting opinion, as follows: "The marriage performed in accordance with the native rites and custom is legal according to the new marriage law, and if the partners so married legally contract another marriage without having legally dissolved the previous marriage, they may be criminally liable for the crime of bigamy. The woman may also be liable for the crime of adultery and the man for concubinage, but it must be noted that these latter two crimes may only be prosecuted upon the complaint filed by the offending party." How widely this legal formula can be applied, other than in exceptional cases, is another problem.

## *Justice and Public Order*

now done with births and deaths, thus giving the first element of control. The provincial governor, in his 1932 report, urges an amendment of the law to give effect to this.

### *Justice by Extra-judicial Process*

In the mountain society there emerge many disputes and also delinquencies that require adjudication yet do not lend themselves to settlement by the formal judiciary. Two kinds may be distinguished to-day: internal matters of concern only to the native mind, as for example some ceremonial infringement; and happenings where government authority is invoked or involved.

Mountain justice in its most direct form, the right of the individual to seek vengeance by force of arms, has been necessarily curtailed. The same has happened where under the old law the head of a family or the community council had power to inflict bodily harm or death. Such punishments have been turned into other channels, as by imposing fines or confiscating property. This has meant an increasing importance for native forms of arbitration and judicial process as apart from government action. First among these is the method of conference and adjustment between the families of the parties concerned. In southern Kalinga this is sometimes consummated by arranging a marriage between young people of the two groups in order to ensure final peace.

Where such a conference fails, or a large group is involved within the community, the affair is placed before the old men or important leaders. These latter also negotiate matters between *barrios*. In such instances an outright decision is given and the necessary settlement defined, or else a custom of trial by ordeal is invoked.

This is not found among the *kaingin* dwellers of the north, but otherwise is fairly universal in the Mountain Province;

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

in olden days it was widespread in the Philippines. The exact system in vogue, however, varies from place to place. Sometimes the test favoured involves the comparison of two chicken galls; otherwise it may be a hot water or heated weapon ordeal, the pricking of heads to examine the relative flow of blood, throwing of stones or pieces of *camote* (sweet-potato) at one another, or the chewing of dry rice and examination of the saliva flow resulting. The disputants or the accused solemnly invoke the witness of the gods, while old men are present to interpret the results of the procedure. How potent such a method remains to-day was shown early in 1932 when a Bontoc, who was due to have his guilt tested in this way by his fellows as supplementing a deadlocked official investigation in a theft case, committed suicide rather than face the experience. It is in the native mind the final court of appeal in which the gods are the judges, and as such its psychological soundness has proved itself again and again. There is, however, a tendency for the more severe ordeals as those with hot water to fall into disuse compared with the milder forms, particularly those of the chicken gall or the *camote* throwing.

The essential of all native settlements is to close the breach between the parties concerned and between their families, thus restoring the equilibrium of community order. In adopting the plan of extra-judicial arbitration in all possible cases, the officials have taken this native ideal as their basis of work, with outstanding success. The roles of the provincial governors, the deputy-governors, the municipal treasurers, and members of the constabulary in this respect have already been mentioned. The success of the method depends on the degree to which these officials have intimate knowledge of local custom and enjoy the confidence of the natives. Where necessary the judgments rendered in adjusting cases are accompanied by the disciplining of individuals or even whole communities. This, referred to technically as

## *Justice and Public Order*

"administrative punishment," customarily takes the form of so many days of labour on roads and public works in the area, or where the crime consists of careless destruction of forests, a task of replanting. Whenever it is thought desirable, the authorities call in local native officials to help reach decisions, particularly if native custom law is involved. In many cases the complaint as brought to the office or made during an official inspection trip is referred to the families or community elders for settlement wholly by native methods.

Such close integrating of old and new forms of authority has made for a fine spirit of cooperation and satisfaction. Nevertheless some knotty problems come before the officials in which even these methods do not help much. An excellent example is provided where *barrios* have complained to the government that sickness in their midst is due to the activities of poisoners, spell-casters, and wizards in other settlements. Certain towns in the Besao district of Lepanto, for instance, have a very sinister reputation along these lines, and are feared even by the Bontoc. The isolated Bontoc town of Dalican is another such. Matters of this kind are intensely real in the native life, and cannot be dismissed with ridicule by the authorities, yet are quite intangible. Official decrees have been issued in some areas forbidding the practice of harmful magic against others, but "these are yet done in secret." Another thorny issue concerns claims to land ownership in which both contestants go back to a different version of events in antiquity—there is no objective measure of which account is the truth. Such difficulties, however, are inherent in the situation and do not reflect upon the adequacy of the current methods of arbitration.

The basis of success in such extra-judicial dealings lies in a knowledge of or an ability to get reliable accounts concerning native law and custom. In 1926 the provincial governor urged that the beginnings already made in certain

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

regions toward writing the customary law<sup>6</sup> should be continued under government auspices or with government encouragement. While no direct move has been made, several interested officials have responded by noting as time permitted both their own observations and the comments of the old men in their districts on various aspects of local custom. It seems essential that every sub-provincial office and every office of the justice of the peace should have copies of existing records concerning their particular jurisdiction so far as these are now available. To-day most documents are inaccessible to the provincial official, being no nearer than libraries of Manila. Such a move would be a great stimulus to the recording process, which should certainly be continued as fast as possible. Furthermore, in the writers' opinion, every effort should be made to get an understanding of the present working of native custom laws—already they have become readjusted at many points—rather than merely an account of what happened in earlier days. The latter is important for scientific reconstruction; but it is the former that will enable the administrator to understand and grapple with the existing problems in a practical way. If the ideal of having officials and justices who are experts in local custom, or of having one or more trained ethnologists on the staff in an advisory and research capacity, as is done by some colonial administrations with excellent results, is impracticable, at least the way should be made easy for present officials to become familiar with written data already existing or to be forthcoming. An occasional lecturing tour or annual course by an anthropologist, say under the auspices of such an institution as the University of the Philippines, would supplement this by giving local officials more of what has

<sup>6</sup> See Barton, *Ifugao Law*; Moss, *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*, also *Kankanai Ceremonies*; Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*; Cole, *The Tinggian*; Robertson, *The Igorots of Lepanto*; and other works of a less detailed nature.

## *Justice and Public Order*

come to be called "the anthropological viewpoint" so valuable in native administration and in carrying out a successful policy of cultural readjustment.

### *The Regular Judicial Process*

In 1917, Section 2417 of the revised administrative code abolished the rather informal township courts then existing in some areas, and established a system of "justice of the peace courts." An original number of five justices stationed within the province has by now been increased to eleven. Five are in Benguet, including one as auxiliary; two in Bontoc; two in Ifugao; and one each in Kalinga and Apayao. All are lowland Filipinos.

The local justices of the peace deal with all infringements brought by the constabulary, the officials, or the people themselves, except those which by precedent are dealt with by the methods just outlined. Their courts are quite informal, held either at their headquarters office or in the *presidencia* of the district where trouble occurs. Occasionally the justice acts with the executive officials in an extra-judicial capacity to deal with complaints where native custom is involved. His most obvious duties, however, are concerned with infringements of the regular laws either by non-Christians or by Christians, such as theft, illegal gambling, travelling without passes, prolonged tax delinquency, crimes of violence, and the sale or possession of liquor other than as made by the natives themselves from sugar-cane or rice. Dealings in liquor have been prohibited in non-Christian areas since early American times—a necessary provision in view of the fact that numbers of mountain communities, notably near the Ilocos coast, were in earlier times "debauched" by *vino*.

Under a well-known article, 11, of the Philippine penal code, amended in form but not in spirit by Act No. 2142

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

of the legislature, non-Christians are given special consideration before the law on account of their ignorance and lack of education. This is made more specific by Section 106 of the code of Mindanao and Sulu, now applying also to the Mountain Province. It authorizes a justice or judge to "ignore any minimum penalty" provided by law, and allow in the interests of justice for "all the circumstances of the case, including the state of enlightenment of the accused and the degree of moral turpitude which attaches to the offence among his own people." The precedent of two cases, however, makes this inapplicable to crimes "against chastity."<sup>7</sup>

This excellent and necessary provision in the statute law has had only one danger, namely, that it has at times caused more sophisticated mountaineers to believe they could commit offences more or less with impunity. A strike, for instance, at the agricultural high school at La Trinidad, Benguet, led to the expulsion of some advanced students. They were "bitterly vociferous when they found His Excellency the Governor-General did not condone their acts, 'because they were Igorots and did not understand.' " On the whole, however, this elastic clause has been applied carefully, and a balance struck between making allowance for ignorance and creating a dangerous impression of official leniency.

Within the sphere provided by the law the justices of the peace impose monetary fines or prison sentences.<sup>8</sup> These

<sup>7</sup> G. B. Guevara, *Commentaries on the Revised Penal Code . . .*, Manila, 1931, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Where persons under legal age are involved, they are transferred to the care of a probation officer; in the Mountain Province this is the provincial governor himself. According to the seriousness of the case he sends them to Manila, where their subsistence continues to be furnished by the province, or puts them into the charge of some local person who makes himself legally responsible for their maintenance and care. At the end of their term of sentence the provincial governor makes a recommendation to the justice or judge as to whether it should be extended or a release given.



## *Justice and Public Order*

latter are served either in the municipal gaol attached to each *presidencia* building (when the confinement is to be for a very short period), or in gaols at Bontoc or Baguio. The more serious cases are held over for semi-annual sessions of the court of first instance. These are held in Bontoc every March and December, supplemented by sessions in Ifugao and Kalinga if necessary.

In early days long-term prisoners were sent to the lowlands. But it was soon discovered that a sentence to a lowland institution was virtually a sentence of death for the mountaineer, due to climatic conditions and the likelihood of his becoming infected with disease. About 1910, therefore, a provincial prison and penal farm was created in Bontoc for mountain offenders. Except for a short period in which mountaineers were again transferred to the lowlands, this has continued to operate since. The prisoners work in the gardens and nurseries of the institution, also on the upkeep of provincial property and other public improvements at the capital. On certain days they are allowed to visit in the town, conditional on good behaviour. If any important criticism has been advanced, it has been that prison conditions are "too good": that offenders enjoy better conditions than they do at home, getting well fed and clothed, having less work than in their communities, and being sheltered from "the revenge of the relatives of their victims." One earlier government report (1924) claims that this condition of affairs is a main cause of increase in crime.

To the judge of the court of first instance is presented by the provincial *fiscal*, in his role of public prosecutor, the evidence accumulated by the constabulary and the justice of the peace in previous hearings. Whereas at these preliminary stages and through informal review by provincial authorities the native custom is generally taken into account, the proceedings of this higher court are more formal. Several judges have made a point of reviewing cases in the light of

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

such law. For the most part, however, the proceedings are legalistic and, to the non-Christian, very incomprehensible and terrorizing.

A few days ahead of the court sessions come a small group of lawyers who seek engagement by the native prisoners as their public defenders. According to the law of the Philippines every defendant must be supplied with legal aid if he has himself secured no personal counsel. As cases come up, therefore, it is customary for the judge to question any prisoner who has not obtained legal aid as to his financial circumstances; if he cannot afford to pay a lawyer the fees demanded, the judge appoints one of the lawyers present to take charge of his case *de officio*. Since the government has no funds to meet such fees, it remains for the lawyer to get from the defendant and his relatives whatever can be forthcoming.<sup>9</sup> Human nature being what it is, the zeal and interest of the advocate naturally tend to be conditioned by the financial consideration. In cases where the prisoner has already admitted his guilt in the lower court, the requirement of his having a lawyer may be waived entirely.

If any one further official is greatly needed in the area for the protection of non-Christians it is a permanent native advocate and legal adviser entirely on a salary basis. In 1926 the provincial governor proposed that at least the justices of the peace be assigned to this role at the time of court sessions. "At present," he remarked dryly, "an accused person is bankrupted even if acquitted." Also there has been resentment on the part of injured parties and their relatives where lawyers were considered to have got offenders off too lightly.

The weaknesses inherent in a one-man system of adjudication, even when his judgments are prescribed with some minuteness by his statutory instructions, are seen in the

<sup>9</sup> Attorneys *de officio* are supposed, however, to do their work free of all charges, and they cannot enforce any claim against the party they have served by order of the court.

## *Justice and Public Order*

Mountain Province as elsewhere. Yet here and in the other non-Christian areas a jury system, or even an assessor system which called upon mountaineers, is not remotely possible. The failing of civilized law from the point of view of the native, however, and of its penalties in the form of fine or imprisonment, is that they fail to mend the breach between the parties concerned in the action. It has been found repeatedly that a case decided by the courts crops out again and again in frictions and even conflicts in spite of the legal findings. Often therefore the extra-judicial method has to be invoked as a supplement to the regular court proceedings in order to forestall the possibility of future reprisals and bloodshedding.

An unwise decision in this court can have very serious consequences. Financial penalties may be inflicted offhand by an unthinking judge that might be reasonable in the lowlands, but in the mountains would, in the case of poor persons, be equivalent (if paid) to sentencing them not only to financial ruin but also to a lifetime of servitude, this perhaps extending to members of their family. Though such amounts can be worked out by the offender through extension of the prison sentence by "one-third of the principal penalty," the proportionately greater severity may tend to reduce faith in the justice of the legal process. The writers observed three men arraigned on somewhat similar charges get within five minutes of each other an identical prison sentence and heavy fine, imposed without any attempt to inquire into their financial and social circumstances, or the merits of their cases in terms of customary law. Here, too, some ethnological knowledge if not the services of a trained anthropologist would help in the course of justice, or, if a salaried native advocate were appointed, special study of local custom might be regarded as an essential qualification.

An appeal is allowed from the decision of the court of first instance to the Supreme Court of the Philippines, and so

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

to the corresponding institution in the United States. Such an action, however, involving further strange dealings with courts and lawyers, is as yet quite outside the experience of the mountaineers. Unless there is some interested party to supervise and perhaps finance such a venture—though here again the party concerned can secure an *attorney de officio*—the judge of the court of first instance is for all intents and purposes the final arbiter. A total of three cases in which mountaineers were involved have reached the former court of appeal, and one was carried to the latter—all receiving reference in the study (pages 145, 164, 183).

## *The Present Incidence of Crime*

A summary of the annual court statistics shows that crimes, misdemeanours, and civil disputes have had on the whole a marked regional distribution.

Crimes of physical violence and of insult such as were pictured earlier are found almost entirely in the Bontoc, Ifugao, and Kalinga region, and to a very limited extent in Apayao; there serious troubles of any kind are rare except on the Isneg-Negrito-Ilocano fringe. The feuds of the former regions have also been carried over occasionally into the mining districts of Benguet, to the alarm of the long pacified residents and the immigrants in those places, in whose eyes the more northerly areas are still the lair of headhunters. Bontoc and southern Kalinga also have frequent troubles among their *barrios* over water rights in the dry season, when every drop of water is precious. Land disputes crop up throughout the province, though rarely in Apayao where land is plentiful; quarrels there mainly concern the correspondingly valuable commodities, ancestral jars and beads. In Benguet and Lepanto "theft of large cattle" has assumed serious proportions from time to time, in spite of legal requirements of branding and registration, and of

## *Justice and Public Order*

securing a licence to transport or transfer such animals. The Spanish records show that certain communities were particularly notorious in earlier days as stock thieves, often under the instigation of the local *baknangs*, and this form of activity in stock-herding areas is by no means past.

"Civilized" crimes such as burglary, or sexual irregularities other than of kinds sanctioned by native custom, are notably absent, in this respect the Mountain Province comparing more than favourably with the lowlands. The inhibitions of modern youth concerning sex are not suffered by the mountain children, growing up as they do in an atmosphere of physical naturalness and freedom. The Baguio region alone forms an exception to this, as already seen. A cosmopolitan centre, and the goal of so many of the mountain youth filled with expectations of easy money and a good time, it has tended inevitably to accumulate a drifting and indigent population both Christian and non-Christian, such as is everywhere the breeding-ground of theft and other forms of delinquency. Petty stealing is also showing itself in some of the other main population centres such as Bontoc and Kiangnan. In the ordinary village life, however, the customary rules of order, supplemented where necessary by various forms of magical "honour lock"—crossed *runo* grass stalks at the entrance of a house, knots in the grass beside the trail, a head-axe in the doorway, branches of *runo* leaves at the entrances of a *barrio*, and the like—are sufficient to minimize troubles of this kind.

Allowing that the good behaviour of the mountain peoples is largely a product of a thorough official control, together with native unsophistication and remoteness from the conditions that make much of the criminal code necessary, the records for public order in the Mountain Province are indeed a remarkable tribute to the work of the authorities in past and present. No doubt the continued pressure of civilizing efforts will be attended by an increase in social

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

disorganization, especially among the younger people. Native sanctions will be loosened and new possibilities of delinquency opened up: such a process is seen the world over wherever extensive cultural changes are taking place. But this seems far more satisfactory a trend than that suggested earlier as due to happen if present control is seriously relaxed for financial or other reasons.

### *Summary*

Setting the judicial experiment in the Mountain Province against that being tried in other native areas, its striking feature is its informality, in practice if not in theory. Many native peoples to-day receive justice in accordance with a special native code and judiciary distinct from the code of the rest of the population. This protects the "backward" groups and makes allowances for their incompetence. But as educated individuals emerge, and the natives become distributed between extremes of progress and conservatism, sophistication and ignorance, the serious problem arises of bridging the gap between the native system of law and the modern codes so as to provide control over all.

This problem has been avoided almost entirely in the Philippines. The special privileges and exceptions allowed to non-Christians have been kept to a minimum in accordance with the policy of assimilation, and are regarded as highly temporary. For the most part the general law and judicial organization have been extended to apply formally to non-Christian areas, and then given in practice an elasticity which strict interpretation would not condone. It is not for the writers to judge how far such a condition of affairs has arisen as a consequence of official foresight or is merely a product of the exigencies of the situation as here set out. The fact is that the result is remarkably successful in the present, while the problem of future evolution and adjust-

## *Justice and Public Order*

ment to the general system is practically non-existent. Backwardness can be fully allowed for by disregarding or stretching the terms of the formal law or by using the extra-legal process. As individuals and communities advance to greater responsibility they can be dealt with more and more according to the regular judicial process. Apart from interference by persons unfamiliar with the actual conditions who would seek to apply more strictly the latter, a move that would only result in disturbance and discontent, the system should be excellently adequate to effect the gradual transition toward complete judicial assimilation. Its weaknesses in the eyes of the writers, set out at a number of points, are less those of the local mountain setting than inherent in the whole legal system of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

### NATURE'S GIFTS OF LAND AND WATER

To the mass of Filipino people, land suitable for agriculture and water to irrigate it are the essentials of life. This applies almost without exception to the mountaineers.

The present generation inherit from their ancestors not only techniques of cultivation closely adapted to mountain conditions, but also systems of land tenure and water rights that bear the stamp of great antiquity. The act of making a *kaingin* clearing, for instance, gave to the family concerned a perpetual title of ownership, even though in the course of crop rotation or migration the land might be for long unoccupied. The terraced rice lands, with their necessary irrigation systems, were compassed about with minute definitions of ownership, tenancy, and rights of disposal, subject always, of course, to the ability on the part of their users to defend the territories against hostile groups. Forests, hunting areas, and where applicable fishing-grounds were more or less similarly defined.

In the face of a new order, such ancient sanctions have proved rather inadequate. Spanish, American, and Filipino legislators have formulated land, water, forestry, and mining laws which they have applied arbitrarily to the mountain area. Immigrants have come, numbers of whom have sought to acquire agricultural property by purchase or by homestead application. Prospectors, delving beneath the surface even of occupied lands, have staked mineral claims. Lumbermen likewise have cast eyes over the pine forests and jungles. That bureaucratic monster (in native eyes), the Bureau of Lands, with its surveyors, assessors, and other technicians, its schedules, investigations, and fees, seeks with the best of intentions to enmesh the native owner in strange toils



## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

for his own protection. More immediately, the municipal treasurer is there to collect his one-half of one per cent annually.

How has the mountaineer fared in this new situation? What measures have been taken by the authorities to protect him in view of his obvious unpreparedness? With an expectation of increasing numbers as a result of health work, is there enough land for future needs?

## *The Story of Land Dealings*

Unlike many native peoples in less rigorous environmental and economic circumstances, the mountaineers had a keen sense of individual ownership of natural resources, at least in the regions of irrigated agriculture. Forced by both increase of population and pressure of enemies to build their fields upwards, even to the mountain tops, where water was available, having their agriculture bound around with religious beliefs and rituals of a most exacting character, they did not fritter away or surrender their lands easily in the period of early penetration by newcomers as happened on many other native frontiers.

Nor was most of their land wanted. The lowland settler was well aware that over the mountain region his techniques of cultivation would not give him a satisfactory living, nor could he and his womenfolk adjust readily to the strenuous climatic, topographical, and agricultural conditions. Practically every square foot cultivable, too, was already occupied, so that land could not be easily acquired. The sparsely populated lower altitudes were malarial. Within more accessible areas such as Pangasinan and the Cagayan valley, plenty of land was to be had that could be worked by familiar methods. Apart, therefore, from sections for trading stores and vegetable gardens in or near the centres, also in a few instances for coffee or fruit plantations, the lowlander has

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

not been greatly interested in acquiring Mountain Province land. The environment and his own industry have provided the mountaineer with a natural protection.

Mineral claims and workings in Benguet, Lepanto, and certain other areas have formed an exception to this; likewise fertile stretches in the Abra valley and along the north and east of Apayao, and east Kalinga, Bontoc, and Ifugao. With the aid of science malaria is beginning to be unseated in these latter places, and they have become areas of potential, even of actual settlement. The government and the missions have also acquired extensive holdings for their respective operations.

By the Spanish colonial system, the title to all land within the Philippines was considered to be vested ultimately in the King. From 1880 several moves were made to secure a legal title of ownership for the individual;<sup>1</sup> but these were remote from the life of the mountain peoples. Their land, however, was taken more or less arbitrarily for government or mission purposes, while coffee plantations were developed under a system of forced labour. With the establishment of Cervantes, it was decreed by the local authorities that any land in the town uncultivated for three years and with no private title obtained for it could be settled by Christians or non-Christians; they were also allowed to cut wood anywhere in the mountains. Such "squatters' rights" were apparently the basis of all early settlement by Ilocanos in Lepanto and Benguet, also of the title acquired by a few westerners who developed *haciendas* in the region. The right to exploit the copper mines at Mankayan was granted directly by the King to Spanish concessionaires.

The Organic Act of 1902, and succeeding Philippine Acts of the United States Congress, decreed the transfer of all lands vested in the Spanish Crown to the Philippine Govern-

<sup>1</sup> See E. Altavas, *Land Registration and Mortgages in the Philippines*, Manila, 1923, for a general history of land matters.

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

ment, and gave authority for various laws to be formulated to deal with public lands, land registration, cadastral surveys, waters, and minerals. The well-known Torrens system of registration, placing the obligation for proving ownership on the land-holder, was extended to the Philippines. Provision was made for individuals to take up homesteads on unoccupied public lands, and to register mineral claims.

By the strict terms of the first Philippine public land act (1905), all lands of the mountain peoples were now owned by the Philippine Government, for no move had been made to prove individual ownership. Barrows, head of the first Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, recommended strongly against the establishment of a reservation system such as that of the American Indian—the allotment of large cessions or grants of land to groups—indeed a wise decision as subsequent events in America have proved. Two serious problems emerged, however, in the matter of establishing individual ownership. First, how to overcome the natural timidity and suspicion of the native in land dealings, and persuade him that the onerous and, to him, costly process involved would be to his advantage, as supplementing his traditional sanctions of ownership. Second, how to reduce to metes and bounds property scattered in numerous holdings of every size and shape, usually on steep slopes, and liable at flood time to wash out and vanish—more particularly in view of the fact that the first public land act decreed that only one parcel of land could be claimed by any one person.

The Ibaloi of southern Benguet were the first to become land conscious. Americans had “flocked to stake claims” to gold and copper mines in their territory; even by 1903 some three hundred applications had been filed in the provincial office. The creation of the city of Baguio called for the acquisition of extensive lands by the government. Americans were even weaving dreams of a new American colony and

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

economic outpost among the temperate hills. In 1900 Commissioner Taft had promised the Ibaloi that they would be given free patents (freehold titles) to their lands. At the time they were in a state of insecurity owing to unsettled conditions, while many had even abandoned their holdings and fled to the mountains. Once confidence in American rule was secured, their leaders were soon clamouring to have the Taft promise fulfilled. But the Manila machine worked slowly; by 1905, when the land act was forthcoming, some of the people were even leaving their homes once more under the impression that after all "the government intended to take their land and it was no use fighting."<sup>2</sup>

The land act, on which the administrators in the mountain area had pinned their hopes for protecting the rights of the people and stopping nomadic cultivation, proved too rigid. The Benguet land-holders filed claims for numerous parcels of land, but the act failed to cover them very satisfactorily. Fortunately, however, the American officials were in a position to see that no undue exploitation by settlers and miners took place. They also constituted themselves arbiters of numerous quarrels regarding land-ownership that arose once warfare was stopped and ancestral rights were evoked. A policy was initiated that has continued since, by which land disputes are kept almost wholly in the sphere of extra-judicial arbitration.

In 1909 a decision rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States affected vitally the question of land titles in the mountain communities: the so-called *Cariño* case.<sup>3</sup> This reversed decisions of the corresponding body in the Philippines, and of the court of first instance in Benguet, by

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, vol. 1, pp. 307-08; 1905, vol. 1, pp. 176, 179; *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903, iv, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Mateo Cariño versus The Insular Government of the Philippine Islands*, No. 72, 1909, *Philippine Court Reports*, vol. 41, pp. 935-44.

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

which a leading *baknang* family among the Ibaloi was deprived, for public and military purposes, of a large tract of land in and around Baguio, on the ground that no private title was legally perfected. Omitting the technicalities of the case, the decision reads:

"It does not follow that, in the view of the United States, he (Cariño) had lost all rights and was a mere trespasser . . . when the present government seized his land. The argument to that effect seems to amount to a denial of native titles throughout an important part of the Island of Luzon, at least, for the want of ceremonies which the Spaniards would not have permitted and had not the power to enforce. . . . We hesitate to think that it (the Organic Act of 1902) was intended to declare every native who had not a paper title a trespasser, and to set the claims of all the wilder tribes afloat."

From 1913 land problems begin to assume great importance in governmental reports. Peace had enabled new lands to be brought into cultivation. An enthusiastic government had supplied tools, dynamite, and the necessary supervision for extending irrigation works, with beneficial results. When virgin land was opened up by the latter method it was distributed among those who supplied the labour. Yet, by the year mentioned, a point was reached where nature more or less defied the engineer: all land accessible to the existing settlements of the terrace agriculturalists that could feasibly be utilized was in use. Little progress had been achieved in giving the people free patents, though for taxation purposes each adult male in the more pacified areas was supposed to declare his holdings annually. Some understanding had been gained, however, of the intricate systems of native customary law.

It was found, for instance, that other than in Apayao and the eastern foothills economic pressure had conspired with the social system to concentrate the bulk of property in greater or lesser measure into the hands of a few families,

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

or even of one family, in each region or community. Only rarely if at all in the Mountain Province is there an adult who owns no land, be it only a tiny rice bed or a mountain *kaingin*, or who at least is not expecting to own land at marriage or through inheritance. Yet conditions are such that many poor people are dependent for subsistence on their richer brethren, either under a share method or as labourers. This system, backed by socio-religious sanctions, provided under older conditions a not unfair distribution of responsibilities and benefits. It was interpreted, however, in the American mind according to the economic standards and secular ideals and attitudes bound around the dollar. Attempts were therefore made to persuade the poorer people to launch out for themselves on unused or abandoned lands, if necessary to move away and pioneer new areas. Again custom intervened. Such people refused, as from bitter experience they knew that, no sooner would their labour be expended, say on building terraces, and their crops be planted, than out of tradition would emerge an ancestral claim to the area by some richer person, usually the *baknang*, whose ancestors would be said to have made *kaingins* there. Actually all accessible land in the Mountain Province appears to bear a title, recognized or potential, by someone. Even though in formal terms the unoccupied portions at least were public lands, officials soon found by experience that it was "advisable for administrative reasons to secure the consent of the claimants" before they were disposed of for any purpose.

A thorough discussion of the contemporary land problem is given in the report of the provincial governor for 1915,<sup>4</sup> where such matters, together with the difficulties of accurate survey and the dangers under modern conditions of the land passing more or less entirely from the small cultivator into the hands of their own *baknang* financiers or outside money-

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1915, pp. 109-11.

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

lenders, are set out. In that year a plan was experimented with in Benguet of "staking out the lands which are publicly recognized as belonging to each owner, and keeping a record containing a rough description, in the office of the provincial authorities, which might form the basis of more permanent titles later." It was also proposed (a) that unoccupied tracts of public land up to 5 hectares (12.2 acres) in extent be conveyed free of charge to non-Christians without adequate lands, with restriction on their powers to alienate such holdings; and (b) that non-Christians should not be allowed to sell or mortgage their lands to meet personal debts, even among themselves, a practice which was becoming at the time a source of "endless disputes" brought before the authorities.

A new public land act of 1918 (No. 2874), amended in 1925 (No. 3219), removed the main disabilities of the earlier measures. It also provided a special clause for protecting the interests of non-Christians. Section 118 reads:

"Conveyances and encumbrances made by persons belonging to the so-called non-Christian tribes, when proper, shall not be valid unless duly approved by the Director of Non-Christian Tribes."

This new land law touches the mountain population in three ways. It provides a mechanism for securing legal titles to their occupied lands—the free patent. It authorizes close supervision of all land transactions to prevent exploitation by others, or unwise action on their own part. And it defines a method by which enterprising or landless individuals can secure homesteads. An earlier act provides, also, for the formal settlement of land disputes through the court of first instance, a necessary supplement to the first two, though one rarely invoked. Few cases are so intractable as to resist arbitration either by native methods, or by the deputy-governors. The same applies to water disputes, though by the letter of the law (Act No. 2858, 1919) the customary rights are made subject to the water and irrigation rules of the Philippines as a whole.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

### *Securing Land Titles*

The procedure of securing free patents, wrote the provincial governor in his annual report for 1926, is "too costly, complicated, and tedious," and the mountaineer is afraid of it. According to the land registration act, the fees amount to 6 pesos (3 American dollars) plus one-tenth of one per cent of the assessed value, a large sum to the non-Christian. Space does not permit a detailed account of the methods of application and investigation, the zigzagging of documents from office to office, central and local, and the surveying required—presumably all essential for correct appraisal by the Bureau of Lands. The fact is, however, that the great number of mountaineers neither understand the process nor appreciate what value may accrue to them by invoking it. The governor also writes:

"The whole question of the relationship of the Bureau of Lands to the people needs a new and sympathetic approach. The present cumbersome machinery of the Bureau frightens the Visayan farmer even when run by men who speak his own language; how much more it may frighten the mountaineer may be imagined. We need simplification of method."

Several official moves have been made since then to secure closer cooperation between the Bureau of Lands and the provincial authorities, as by passing all transactions through the provincial offices for review instead of having them go direct to Manila. The deputy-governors are vested with authority as auxiliary land inspectors. Local officials, however, have repeatedly recommended the establishment of a branch land office somewhere in the province in addition to Baguio. The lack of such a local office, and the long if inevitable delays that take place in Manila, make the system anything but inviting to the native who contemplates taking the free patent step.

Patents have now been secured or are being applied for



## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

by many Ibaloi, especially the *baknang* families, in Benguet, and by numbers of Bontoc who hold land actually in or near the capital; by a handful of enterprising individuals, usually native officials, and ex-officials or educated younger people, over the rest of the province; also, naturally, by non-mountaineers who in earlier days have secured a foothold. Some of the rich Ibaloi have likewise registered mining claims in order to secure them against encroachment, either selling or leasing them to the mining corporations.

That people in Bontoc, the most consciously conservative of mountaineers, should have taken up the free patent method (so far there have been 197 applications from Bontoc and Samoki *barrios*) seems remarkable. Such action, however, is bound up with the history of the Bontoc "town site" where the capital is situated. In 1924 the Bureau of Lands ruled that the time had come when the natives should show titles to their lands within this area, defined some years before; otherwise the areas should revert to the public domain. The Bontoc people immediately sent delegates to Manila to protest against such action, as the lands had been "inherited from their ancestors who worked and improved them from time immemorial." The authorities granted their petition, provided they would defray the costs of a resurvey of the town site in order to determine those native holdings claimed by the people.<sup>5</sup> Under the stimulus of this original circumstance numbers of Bontoc since 1927 have sought title to their further properties.

Such issuing of free patents to those more enterprising is not without its serious problems regarding the welfare of the many. The process requires each application to be advertised publicly, as on the notice boards of the *presidencia*. Yet topographical and other conditions make it possible that the boundaries named in the final title may not correspond with those recognized in the community of the applicant as

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report of the Provincial Governor, 1924.*

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

marking his properties. A high government official who is from Benguet may be quoted:

"Rich people (in Benguet) who could afford to meet the expenses of survey have usually included the lands of other people adjacent to them who could not afford to pay the expense. After the title has been perfected and issued, they arrange to give so much in cash or animals in exchange. But now that the poor people can get assistance from the government, they are protesting against the action of the rich. One of the biggest troubles we have in Benguet is settling disputes of this sort. Sometimes three or four claim titles within a rich man's holding."

Under such circumstances the government process can be used by the more "advanced" individuals to exploit their fellows—one element in a modern tendency for lands to become further concentrated into the hands of a native *cacique* class.

In view of the widespread conservatism regarding titles, the authorities have now come to treat as the real test of land-ownership throughout the province the annual declarations made by each head of a family or adult for taxation purposes. Where an individual is paying taxes on land, or has his properties registered at the *presidencia*, the presumption is that he owns the land. Should he wish to file a free patent he now has to produce his tax records. In this respect the would-be tax-dodger is put into at least a potentially awkward situation; he has no proof of ownership should another try to settle on the unregistered portion. So far, however, the only areas where this is likely to involve real difficulties is along the fringe of Ilocano settlement in Apayao, and in mineralized regions. For the rest, native custom law is too strong and the records of land "parcels" contained in tax declarations are too vague to provide a test.

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

### *Supervising Land Transfers*

A series of circulars issued by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes give greater definiteness to Section 118 of the public land act, by which land transactions of non-Christians were to be under its supervision.

In 1925 (Circular 19), minute instructions were given to provincial governors for the investigation of all "conveyances and encumbrances on land by non-Christians." The metes and bounds, the manner in which the vendor acquired title, the assessed value, and other facts were to be specified; the money paid certified as reasonable; the contract explained so that the proposed transaction is fully understood; and the deed "closely scrutinized with a view of protecting non-Christians from any possible fraud or injustice." As the recommendations of the provincial governor would be accepted without question by the central Bureau, this meant virtually the transfer of its powers to the local official—an excellent arrangement in view of his strategic position and that of his deputies to be informed as to the wisdom or otherwise of such transactions.

Yet means of evasion were found in some non-Christian areas. Circular 40 of 1928 pointed out that, in a number of instances, transfers had been consummated without securing official approval. The supervision was therefore to be made more effective, in order to avoid the unpleasantness of having to revoke contracts of this kind. A practice of advancing non-Christian properties as bail bonds in court cases was also made subject to official authorization (Circular 46, 1928).

In 1931 the position was complicated by a decision of the Attorney-General, who held that the new public land act requiring supervision over non-Christian transactions affected only "public lands actually applied for or to which titles have been acquired under the provisions of the said act"—that is, "by homesteading, sale, lease, or confirma-

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

tion of imperfect or incomplete titles." This by no means covered all holdings of non-Christians, and it therefore became possible for transactions dealing in certain types of non-Christian land to take place without supervision from the Bureau. Circular 65 of that year applied, therefore, to all non-Christians a section (145, chapter 14) of the Code of Mindanao and Sulu, by which all "real property contracts with non-Christians" had to receive the approval of the provincial governor.

Official supervision was thenceforth to be of two types, requiring approval by the director of the central Bureau and by the provincial governor respectively. The indefiniteness of titles in the Mountain Province and kindred areas was overcome by defining as coming under class one all properties "to which no title of any kind has so far been secured, the presumption being that the land covered thereby is still a part of the public domain, and therefore comes within the operation of the Public Land Law." Provincial governors were requested to adopt a policy within the sphere of their powers (class two) similar to that defined in the earlier circulars.

Recently a further move has been made to supervise deeds of sale. A prevalent custom which made the law difficult to enforce was for Christians to pay money and assume possession of the property concerned immediately upon making the contract. If disapproved, they failed to return to the vendor the value of the products gathered from the land in the interval, while it was not easy for the vendor to return the purchase price, thus practically compelling officials to sanction the deed. By Circular 72 (1932), contracts were made executory, and delivery of the land and price was not to take place until receipt of the approval. All deeds not legally drawn up in this way were to be returned by the officials without action—a policy made known to lawyers and notaries public.

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

Statistics show that Benguet is the centre of the greatest traffic in land; it also is almost the only area where leases, mortgages, and agreements involving mining shares or royalties arise. All Japanese and the bulk of lowlander agriculture is done on leased lands. Mining companies make various forms of contracts to reimburse Ibaloi owners. Yet this lack of public transactions in the rest of the Mountain Province does not mean that no land changes hands. In the course of marriage and inheritance settlements, adjustments of grievances between families or individuals, payment of loans and debts, and other native custom transactions, such land dealings take place. Especially through the efforts on the part of wealthy families and individuals to accumulate property under the stimulus of modern ambitions and opportunities, parcels of land are constantly changing hands. A Bontoc family may not want a son to marry the girl who is to have a child as a result of his visits to her *olog* (house of unmarried girls); a settlement is made of one rice terrace. A Lepanto has been unable to pay his *baknang* creditor a debt incurred over a funeral ceremony, with its accumulated yearly interest of one-third the original sum; the *baknang* takes an equivalent in fields, either wholly or on a share basis. A Kalinga or Ifugao kills another: the breach is closed with compensation that may include land. Only in the dry agricultural area, where *kaingin* land is usually plentiful, especially in Apayao, does land cease to have negotiable value. Contracts involve here other kinds of wealth—the precious jars, plates, and beads of the family heritage.

None of these transactions, however, come under official notice, except where a written agreement is witnessed and filed at a *presidencia* or in the office of a deputy-governor through the initiative of business-like individuals. In accord with the policy of non-interference, formal supervision covers only transactions involving non-mountaineers. A few official pronouncements have been made about the need

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

for breaking "the selfish ideas of the rich class." But these have not been translated into action, except in trying rather ineffectively to regulate the rate of interest on loans in some districts.

### *Homesteading and the Reservation of Land for Non-Christians*

In view of the pressure of population against resources in the southern, central, and western portions of the Mountain Province, administrators have had a constant hope that the overcrowded communities would overflow into certain sparsely populated or empty regions. These, as referred to in many reports, comprise Apayao primarily, the lower Chico valley, and the foothills of the eastern fringe. There is also a rich but not very extensive valley known as Monamon, between Lepanto and Ifugao, north-east of Data mountain. Following on the relatively unsuccessful Spanish attempts, there have been, also, a number of schemes afoot to settle mountaineers, particularly Ifugaos, in the Cagayan valley.

Apart from the various lines of drift of the *kaingin* peoples, and movements of poorer Ibaloi and Kankanaï into Nueva Vizcaya and the Ilocos foothills, it has been virtually impossible to get the mountain peoples to migrate permanently from their ancestral homes and pioneer these empty regions. In addition to the evil reputation of the areas mentioned on account of malaria, there are ties of religion and social organization that grip the people inseparably to their own locality. Better to die of starvation at home, was the recent answer of some Ifugao when government officials tried to cajole them into moving east, than to get sick and die in foreign places. Equally unprofitable have been various attempts to get the nomadic and semi-nomadic people to settle in larger groups with sedentary methods of agriculture—as with Negritos at Nagan and Allacapan in

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

Apayao, the Kalinga of Pinukpuk and Tabuk, and the Gaddang of eastern Bontoc. Only one experiment in group colonization out of a number now survives, the Gobgob colony in Kalinga, made up of some Kalinga families, Ilocanos, a few Bontoc, and others, of which more later. Yet enthusiastic attempts are still being made to move Ifugao families to Lamut and other points.

Few non-Christians have filed homestead applications. Several, however, are at the present time squatting on vacant lands, and officials are encouraging them to apply: one or two agricultural school graduates at Chatol (Bontoc), some families from Alilem in Amburayan who, apparently under pressure from Ilocano neighbours, have crossed the ranges to try their luck in the fertile plain of Butugui (Bontoc), and some retiring members of the constabulary at the same place. But, set against the existing problem, the results to the present are utterly insignificant. All experience indicates that, apart from moving the people by force and maintaining guard to keep them in new territories, any quick transfer of population is not to be expected.

Yet it is to these areas that the local authorities look primarily to solve the land problems of an expanding population in the future. They are regarded as a heritage for the new generations as these "become educated to opportunities and acclimatized to lowland conditions."

They are, however, catching the eye of the migrant Ilocano in the immediate present. The statistics show how, malaria or not, the streams of settlement have crept along the river valleys and lines of communication leading up out of Ilocos, Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya, especially in the last decade. Two hundred homestead applications have recently been filed in the Butugui region alone. The provincial authorities of Cagayan want to take over more of the present Apayao, as Christian settlement pushes in. Those of Isabela have made strong representations on

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

behalf of local interests to carve off a large slice of such empty territory, apparently as a hunting-ground for deer and other game.<sup>6</sup>

To meet this situation, and prevent further friction between natives and immigrants such as is already being manifested, the authorities have formulated a plan of defining special non-Christian reserves in such regions. This long-proposed scheme, made possible by Section 82 of the public lands act of 1918, was set in motion in 1932. The Bureau of Lands, in an attempt to expedite action on homestead applications by lowlanders for land within the Mountain Province, asked the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to define the boundaries of such reserves. Deputy-governors were therefore instructed to recommend what areas it was most desirable to set aside. As a result some 25,000 hectares in Apayao, including all the present Isneg settlements, 8,000 in Kalinga along the lower Chico, 22,000 in the Butugui region of Bontoc, and a much smaller area at Chatol, Bontoc, were recommended to the Bureau of Lands for its approval and action. This, at the time of writing, is still pending. The provincial authorities have proposed that the unoccupied portions of such reserves be surveyed into individual blocks varying from 4 to 12 hectares before settlement, so as to avoid future controversy.<sup>7</sup>

If the scheme has any one weakness, it has been that the officials have made no attempt to enlist the interest and co-operation of the native leaders so far as this might have

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report of the Provincial Governor, 1932.*

<sup>7</sup> Section 22 of the public land act makes a special provision for non-Christians settling on such reserves, by allowing them to acquire for the first five years a "permit of occupation" instead of a homestead patent. Such a holding must not exceed 16 hectares, must be occupied and improved, and a fee of 5 pesos paid for the permit, if necessary in annual instalments. At the end of that time a homestead application must be filed or the land is again open for disposition. One hectare, it may be noted, is equivalent to approximately 2.5 acres.



## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

been forthcoming. Calling a convocation of the *presidentes* in the crowded portions of the province to inform them of the project, consulting the Kalinga and Isneg communities as to their ancestral boundaries, even though it might make little or no practical difference in the scheme, would render it less arbitrary and more psychologically sound; in the latter case it might well be the means of preventing much future resentment, dispute, and litigation.

In April 1932 the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes made a move designed to stimulate homesteading and economic life generally, by launching a campaign to give "land to the landless." This has proved a most instructive experiment regarding land matters. At the date mentioned, the director of the Central Bureau requested that the provincial authorities prepare lists of landless non-Christians, and forward these to Manila; as far as possible 8 hectares of land were to be given to such people to form homesteads, and reports were to be made quarterly on what was being achieved. Sub-provincial and district officials made, as a result, a comprehensive survey of the land position, listing every head of a family and all adult males who were reported or who claimed to be without land.

The results were astonishing, if not very enlightening. Some thousands of names appeared on the final lists. Yet all authorities on the mountain economics agree that a non-Christian without *some* land, a *kaingin* patch at least, or some immediate expectation of receiving it by native custom from the family group of which he is a working unit, is a rare specimen. Apparently various unforeseen elements went to the making of the lists: fear, for example, on the part of poor people that the government would tax their small holdings or *kaingin* land, hope that benefits would accrue from the government for those appearing landless, or even, possibly, mistaken action on the part of municipal district treasurers in including people just because they had not

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

enough property to be assessed for land taxes. Properly interpreted, nevertheless, these lists of what might better be termed the near-landless, or poor, reveal quite interesting economic material.

A summary of the information on Bontoc-Lepanto, prepared by the deputy-governor, shows that there are 10,975 heads of families (covering 42,791 individuals) owning in all 76,120 parcels of land, and 772 heads of families (covering 2,588) together with 152 male persons of legal age who are "landless." The average land-holding per landed family is 1 hectare. The landless comprise a number of tenants, also stock-herders, teachers, Christian "strangers," those dependent on mountain *kaingins* only, old people who had already bequeathed their estates, and youths yet without patrimony. But the deputy-governor adds that "we can safely state that every head of a (native) family is a land-owner though in a small way." In Apayao, of a total population of 12,504, there were 292 heads of families covering 1,237 individuals, also 32 unattached adult males shown as landless. These are defined as including "the landless persons (lowlanders) . . . awaiting homesteads, or those brought either from Ilocos or nearby (Christian) *barrios* to act as labourers to the homesteaders," also "escaped natives from various places of Apayao" who have land in their home settlements and so do not acquire new holdings; numbers, too, are Isneg families who have so far refused or failed to declare their *kaingins* for taxation purposes. The survey for Benguet showed landless persons as very numerous indeed, particularly in view of the *baknang* system and the large number of immigrants from other mountain areas. Similar information is forthcoming from the other sub-provinces.

If 8 hectares were given to all those claiming to be landless, remarks the provincial governor, the entire Mountain Province would not be large enough for them. Such a

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

contingency, however, has not arisen, for no effective response has been forthcoming. In Benguet, for instance, the Bureaux of Land and Forestry presented a list of "unoccupied" agricultural lands classified as suitable for disposal to non-Christian homesteaders. When these were referred to the municipal officers for action, it was found that almost without exception such properties were already settled and under cultivation by non-Christians, with free patents pending on some of them. The movement has had to lapse in that sub-province so far as local settlement is concerned for want of accessible lands unoccupied. Bontoc, too, had no spare land except the Monamon area referred to, and officials had to be content with reiterating their constant urgings towards the extension of terracing and irrigation systems—a difficult matter as those who know the area and its present intensive utilization will agree—and with painting anew in unresponsive minds their glowing picture of the rich lands to the east. In Banaue and Hungduan districts of Ifugao the landless people "flatly refused to go away," as they preferred to work for a living at home rather than for a homestead elsewhere. Kiangnan and Burnay people were somewhat more responsive, several groups going with the district treasurers to view land at Lawig and agreeing to take up sections, though no one moved to file homestead applications immediately. The south-western Kalinga were in the same position as Bontoc, except that further terracing presents less serious obstacles in many parts. In Balbalan 67 landless people were allotted 2 hectares each, but none took the further step of filling in homestead papers. Among the *kaingin* people of that sub-province, where officials had been preaching the gospel of concentration and a sedentary life for years without result, no action was taken, as any attempt to force matters on the people, it was said, would precipitate migrations to Cagayan and Isabela—the problem is very tender. In Apayao the position

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

was more simple. Batches of the landless were arbitrarily allotted sections, usually 1 hectare in extent, by a system of declaration corresponding to that used for tax purposes.<sup>8</sup> The whole experiment indeed gives valuable data to the student of land matters, but its practical results have been negligible.

### *Land Controversies*

In many non-Christian areas, particularly at Davao in Mindanao, conflicts between the original inhabitants and incoming settlers are to-day at an acute stage, and much talk of exploitation is in the air.

The mountain region, defended first by grim environmental circumstances, and more recently by legislative enactments, has on the whole escaped these typical frontier strains and stresses. But they are by no means entirely absent. In view of the potent role played by land matters in conditioning harmonious relations between the mountaineers and their fellow Filipinos, the facts already given concerning this facet of the mountain situation can be rounded out.

Benguet and the old Lepanto provide to-day a problem referred to in official reports as being yet inadequately solved: to protect the rights and interests of non-Christians in the face of mining activity by outsiders. This also exists in potential form at numbers of other points in Bontoc, also in Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao, where mineral deposits are known to exist but are as yet unworked and imperfectly explored. It arises out of a conflict in the provisions of law concerning natural resources in the Philippines, explained by the deputy-governor of Benguet as follows:

<sup>8</sup> This outline is taken from current correspondence, files of the landless, monthly narratives and annual reports of the provincial officials, and personal discussions with the latter.

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

"The mining law is so very liberal, and the public land act so restrictive that the two do not coincide. Take for instance a piece of land on which a non-Christian has his rice fields or other cultivations. He files an application for a free patent. During the course of the application, someone understanding about mines goes in and stakes the land, or part of it, as a mining claim and records it. Once recorded, this seems to give the newcomer the right to do what he pleases with the land, even with the surface, regardless of the rights of the original owner. He can even dispose of it by deed of sale."

In the same way, prospectors and corporations have filed claims to properties occupied by natives, but on which free patents have not been obtained. They have even asserted rights over free patented or homestead properties. In a recent case within Kabayan district, the land concerned was right in the *barrio* of Gusaran, with houses on the surface. At the office of the deputy-governor of Benguet the problem is arising now almost daily, and in 1932 there were no less than 494 such mining claims registered in ten out of the fourteen districts of the sub-province.

When examined, the legal aspects of the situation are exceedingly complicated. The mining law of 1905 declares all public lands in the Philippines to be "free and open to exploration, occupation, and purchase by citizens of the United States, or of said islands." All claims must be registered with a mining recorder, in the case of the Mountain Province either in Baguio or Bontoc, and meet certain specific requirements. The public land act of 1918 declared in turn that "timber and mineral lands shall be governed by special laws," and that free patents and certificates issued under the act shall not include nor convey the title to any metal and mineral deposits, which are to remain the property of the government. Nothing is said about compensating or safeguarding the rights of the surface occupant when such deposits are registered under the mining law. In the Mountain Province the position is further confused

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

by the indefiniteness of native titles—how far lands of non-Christians are to be regarded as public lands.

Section 32 of the mining law states that in case of dispute, the title is to be decided by priority. An earlier section (28) seems, however, to have escaped notice by the authorities, namely that all mining claims must be accompanied by an affidavit to the effect that "the ground applied for is unoccupied by any other person." It is said that such a declaration is not made to-day, nor does the mining recorder visit the lands claimed to see whether they are already occupied. These omissions are undoubtedly one of the root causes of the trouble; if the former at least were insisted upon, it would deter the practice of registering land apart from genuine mineral discoveries. A formal definition of the rights of surface occupants and mineral claimants respectively on public or formerly public lands would also be very timely.

A student of legal matters, indeed, could perhaps question whether or not the mining and public land acts can really be applied to much at least of the mountain land. The *Cariño* case (page 164), as a ruling of the United States Supreme Court that recognizes and respects native customary titles, could well mean that any land, patented or otherwise at the present day, to which such titles based on ancestral occupancy can be shown, is not to be regarded as public land, even though other less binding statements exist to the contrary. The operations of prospectors, therefore, may not be legal at all where there is habitation and cultivation, particularly where the lands are declared at the *presidencia*. There is a further relevant decision, by the Philippine Supreme Court, covering the problem at least partially—also apparently forgotten by present officials. In 1902 an Ibaloi *baknang*, Fianza, protested to the authorities against the action of an American miner, Reavis, in registering mining properties worked by him and his ancestors. Though Fianza had no patent or other paper title, his custom law

## *Nature's Gifts of Land and Water*

rights were upheld when presented in an appeal to the court in 1907.<sup>9</sup>

The writers have emerged from a study of the legal aspects of property rights in the Mountain Province with a strong conviction that an impartial statement of existing laws, court decisions, and conflicts is imperative. This is needed to clarify and reconcile the present complexities, and, of more practical importance, to enable native and non-native rights to be protected and exercised with a minimum of friction or injustice.

Even more serious as a source of strained relationships between non-Christians and Christians is the condition of affairs arising along the newly settled fringes of Apayao and Kalinga, in the old Amburayan and the Cervantes valley, also potentially in Butugui and other vacant areas of the Mountain Province. Such difficulties, long experienced on the Ilocos side, had by 1925 reached such proportions on the Cagayan slope as to receive prominent mention in a report of the Governor-General:

"The intrusion of Christian homeseekers over homesteads already occupied by non-Christians is the root of all the trouble."

A later report states:

"The bureau of lands based priority of claim upon priority of filing, instead of priority of occupancy, as in the United States. This enables the shrewd late-comer to appropriate the land of non-Christian settlers by making a paper filing upon cleared and planted land."<sup>10</sup>

The latter practice is supplemented by another through which the incoming settler declares the land he wants at the *presidencia*, pays the taxes required, and then settles upon it pending later homestead negotiations. Indeed, apart from the new municipal district of Luna, most Christian settlers and a number of claimants to large forest blocks in Apayao

<sup>9</sup> *Fianza versus Reavis, Philippine Court Reports*, vol. 7, p. 610.

<sup>10</sup> *Annual Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, p. 265; 1930, p. 17.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

hold their property by this method, even though it does not constitute a legal title. The lack of a demand for exact boundary definitions under this plan means that the holding can be expanded by accretions, or a larger holding scaled down for taxation purposes. The Isneg or Negritos do not like to claim title to the land, as being merely following *kaingins* or ancestral hunting-grounds, since to do so would mean paying taxes on it—which they are quite unable to afford, as there is no special rate to cover such lands not in actual agricultural use. But the encroachment is vastly resented. So long as it is not controlled, it provides a growing pressure which, particularly with the erstwhile warrior Isneg, may emerge into open trouble. As the scattered forest dwellers of the north have now given up warfare to become the most orderly of mountain peoples, every effort should be made to regulate intelligently and fairly the settlement of this spacious region so as to avoid any outbreak that would perhaps result in a sorry process of Isneg-Negrito extermination.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the present laws of the Philippines require that all Filipinos claiming ownership of public lands on grounds of long residence and occupation must secure patents by December 31, 1938. This represents the constant stretching by the Philippine legislature and the United States Congress of the early Spanish and American laws requiring such claims to be lodged immediately—an allowance for the all but universal conservatism of the Filipino peasant. Obviously from this survey the mountain peoples will not be remotely ready by that date to fulfil the demands of the law. If not for the rest of the Philippine people, at least for the mountain groups, it is essential that extension shall be continued, or exemption granted for some decades—the only alternative being that they be dispossessed *en bloc* of nature's gifts, their use of which is now to be explored.



## CHAPTER VII

### FOOD-GETTING AND COMMERCE

THE all-important economic fact in the life of the mountain peoples is that opportunities are severely limited. Agricultural development is bounded by topographical and cultural circumstances. Few commercial, wage-earning, official, and professional positions are open to educated youth.

The lowlander under the same conditions can migrate comparatively easily and try himself out in new areas. For a mountaineer, on the other hand, such a move calls for adjustments of a grave nature: a dweller of temperate zones, he must face the serious risk to his health of removing to malarial or tropical regions. He is a highly socialized person to whom the intense modern individualism is still foreign; yet he must either pioneer in lonely places or go out among strangers and strange customs, perhaps suffering discrimination and encountering suspicion. If he has received an education, he has to compete in a field where his unequal start will call for immense efforts to overcome the handicap. If uneducated, and hence under the full influence of old custom and belief, he faces an irresistible pull homeward to the ancestral sites and to his kin group.

With peace and stability, a considerable economic expansion was made possible in the mountain area. Such a respite from the struggle with environmental circumstances, however, was in most communities short-lived, due to rising standards and increasing numbers. By 1913, reports show, population was again pressing hard against food supply, especially in Bontoc and Ifugao. The influenza epidemic of 1918 took great toll in the province, probably one-quarter of the people being wiped out in some areas—a grim but only temporary solution of the food problem. Recently

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

there has been a further economic expansion due to the development of good roads, making lowland sources of supply and marketing centres much more accessible, and giving considerable employment to natives on a wage basis; to government efforts along many lines in stimulating production of foodstuffs and goods for sale; and to the growth of a profitable tourist traffic, with consequent commercializing of native industries. At the same time, however, living standards have continued to rise, and the need for money has increased. The health authorities are busily attacking the physical conditions that have so far militated against the rapid growth of population. Educationalists are, consciously or otherwise, turning the stream of youth more and more from the soil, out of which, with the same herculean efforts and in some places at great sacrifice of the physique of womanhood, the food of the people must be won if the mountains are not to become depopulated. In other words the dilemmas faced by all over-crowded lands, and in particular the economic-educational problems of the Philippines as a whole, are strongly represented in these regions that to the uninitiated eye look spacious and thinly settled.

Many have been the praises showered upon the mountain folk for their remarkable agricultural systems and their present work effort—praises that could be echoed here in elaborate descriptions of rice-terracing and irrigation triumphs, and, what is often forgotten, the cunning grappling of the *kaingin* agriculturist of north and east with the jungle and its denizens, animal and spiritual. But compliments do not stay hunger. The important fact is to know whether these systems are providing, and will continue to provide, an adequate basis of living. Is maximum production being obtained from land and water, or could methods and perhaps the products themselves be improved? Are there uneconomic or wasteful customs that might with

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

profit be eliminated? Can agriculture and industry in such a mountain environment be diversified so as to provide new and expanding economic activities? What are the ultimate limits of food-getting and commerce in the local setting, beyond which the population must either starve or migrate?

### *The Native Economic System*

Rice is the basic food of the mountaineers as of most Filipinos. It is grown either in irrigated fields or in forest clearings. The streams and rivers of the terracing region contain perhaps the hardest worked water in the world, though its energy would have to be measured not in horsepower but in rice-power. Supplementing the rice as a staple, and supplanting it to greater or less degree in leaner years and among the poor families and communities is *camote*—sweet-potato.

With these are eaten a number of foods that vary according to the area: *gabi* or taro, beans, and other vegetables, bananas, fish and shell-fish from the waterways and rice beds, salted meats, and in the forest regions flesh of deer and wild pig. At times of feasting and religious ceremonies the diet is diversified with portions of chicken, pig, carabao, cattle, and other domestic animals, including, though to a lessening extent in some regions, dog. Native wines made of rice or sugar-cane form a ceremonial drink. Betel-nut is chewed by some groups, notably among the Isneg, the people of north-eastern Kalinga, and the Ifugao, while tobacco, introduced in Spanish times, is now smoked universally. The coconut palm is grown wherever the climate permits, mainly in the north, but its flesh is not greatly used as food, while its fibre and fronds, employed so extensively for manufactures in the South Sea Islands, have more limited value in a land where bamboo and rattan abound.

Parts of Benguet and most of Lepanto have grassy hill-

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

sides ideal for stock-raising, and many rich families have extensive herds of cattle. These are usually placed in charge of poorer people, who receive one-half or one-third of the increase. Horses are also raised, but not to any great extent in a land where human legs have no fear of steep hillsides and graded trails are only for the convenience of the non-mountaineer and his forms of transportation. Carabao (water buffalo) are a prized possession both for sacrificial purposes and as work animals in the fields. Yet their use in the latter capacity is limited due to the steepness and inaccessibility of many or most rice beds, where all working of the soil is done by hand. Pigs and chickens abound in all settlements. In Bontoc especially the pig is a respected member of the family, having his own stone-lined pit and shelter-house in the village, while the girls of the family gather his ration of vegetables. He is also a link in the cycle of economic conservation, as all waste products of human life go into his pit, and he in turn provides fertilizer for the fields. When, some years ago, an officialdom enthusiastic for sanitation sought to abolish the pig-pen system, the Bontoc offered a wrathful resistance, and all attempts since to modify it by subtle persuasion have utterly failed. Benguet has, too, a small number of goats and sheep, but these types of livestock are on the whole insignificant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statistics of livestock in the Mountain Province for 1932 are as follows:

Sub-province	Cattle	Carabao	Horses	Pigs	Goat	Sheep
Apayao ..	606	1,408	225	9,393	98	2
Benguet ..	20,493	8,701	2,925	16,446	1,674	829
Bontoc ..	3,813	7,804	568	21,997	136	49
Ifugao ..	2,488	1,310	228	19,634	214	44
Kalinga ..	2,979	6,563	466	7,036	6	7
Total ..	30,379	25,786	4,412	74,506	2,128	931

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

Central Bontoc is the poorest of the mountain areas. Its frugal *barrios* are set here and there on the upper Chico river and its tributaries, in many instances on lofty plateaus and slopes where the mountain tops level out above rugged and precipitous gorges. Many rice terraces are placed down in the river bed itself where floods wash them away. Patiently, however, the people build up again the stone walls and carry in the soil, hoping that the deities will favour them more next time.

Valleys in Ifugao are equally hard pressed, but there are always the foothills not far to the east where expansion may in time take place.

Southern and western Kalinga, with more extensive rainfall and gentle slopes, is in easier circumstances. Its people are well fed and wealthy by comparison, the womenfolk less hard worked, while there is an abundance of rice even for export purposes. The districts of Lubuagan, Tinglayan, and Balbalan have been called "the granary of the Mountain Province."

Benguet is the wealthiest sub-province. But such wealth, gained from the gold mines, vegetable gardens, herds, and in lesser degree from rice-production, is concentrated, so far as it does not go to non-mountaineers, in the rich *baknang* families. The bulk of the people are poor or dependent, living on the *kaingin* system, earning money as labourers, or working as stockholders and cultivators for their aristocratic brethren. The Ibaloi as a whole are better off than the Kankanaï of northern Benguet as a result both of environmental and of historical causes.

The Isneg of the north, with plentiful food in normal years from their *kaingins* and hunting, measure "wealth" more in terms of social prestige than economic production. And in nearby jungles the timid pigmy bands, having little permanent attachment to the soil, seek skilfully the lessening game, and wage their losing battle with extinction.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

The economic life of the mountain peoples cannot be remotely appreciated by the standards, for example, of a farmer of the mid-west United States, or even of the low-land Filipinos. The farming of the mountaineer is far more than a matter of planting crops, rearing domestic animals, and engaging in other activities according to traditional techniques, varied by the vagaries of seasonal conditions or of markets. All details of the economic life are vital concerns of the deities and spirits, bound around with elaborate and exacting rites, consultation of omens, sacrifices, and other socio-religious activities, the whole directed and prescribed minutely by seers whose authority comes from ancient time. Particularly in Ifugao and Bontoc, where the planting and harvesting of rice and *camote* has become resolved into a grim annual struggle against starvation, all powers and forces of the native mental world engage in gigantic play.

During the Spanish and American periods the mountain groups have responded considerably to new economic opportunities, taking over voluntarily much that suited their needs and enriched their life. Yet beyond this point there has remained a wall of conservatism which the enthusiastic batterings of modern economic experts have hardly breached at any important point. The resistance to migration noted in the last chapter is merely one aspect of a tenacious maintenance of old economic beliefs and customs that nothing short of developing new mentalities in fresh generations can break down. The thickness and texture of the conservative wall, its depths in the remote past—in other words the elaborate organization of the native economic life in the various areas—cannot be described in detail here: a number of works are already extant upon the subject.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless certain general aspects require careful

<sup>2</sup> See Barton, *Ifugao Economics*; Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*; Cole, *The Tinggian*; Moss, *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*.

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

examination in the light of the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter.

An economic matter that has worried humanitarians is the heavy burden of work the mountain women have to bear. Baby-tending is largely a task of the very aged people, both men and women, or of the little girls and boys, for mothers are away labouring in the fields. Carrying heavy loads, under exposure to heat and cold, bending knee deep in the cold water and mud of the rice beds, they pass from rounded youth to wrinkled age more or less abruptly. This is especially so of Bontoc women. In all areas it is reflected in the low birth-rate.

Allowing for the truth of this, it must nevertheless be remembered that the work tends to look more of a drudgery than it really is to those taking part. Techniques are defined by ancient experience, and little initiative is required. Women rarely labour alone, but rather in cheerful groups. The periods of most strenuous activity such as transplanting seedlings and harvesting the crop come at long intervals, are preceded by rest and feast periods, and are performed under the intensity of religious and social excitement. Agriculture is, so to speak, a mountain woman's career, not home-keeping to any extent as in traditional western life; and as such her achievements and skill are a source of pride and self-expression. A mountain woman feels the same sense of shame if her husband has to do what is considered women's work, as a woman of the west might if her husband were reduced to doing the cooking. The labour, though strenuous, is less so than that done by many an Anglo-Saxon wife on rural farms where somewhat similar field tasks are combined with a standard of living that necessitates a great deal of house-keeping and child-tending.

Desirable as it may be that health knowledge should spread to a point where women will not be required to do

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

field work at certain periods, and can devote more time to baby care, the agricultural system would cease abruptly without their efforts. In earlier days, various mission workers tried to substitute other economic avenues such as lace-making and weaving for agricultural activities among the girls. The result of extending such a policy would be the cessation of agriculture. Men could not do all the work in this region of small hand-tilled fields and of laborious wall-building and irrigation, even if traditional taboos that make transplanting and other activities exclusively women's work were removed. A corresponding depopulation of the area would ensue. The time which men formerly devoted to warfare is now in most areas fully occupied in earning money, or working out government dues.

In actual practice throughout the greater part of the region, a remarkably balanced division of effort is maintained between the sexes and among youth and elders in the course of the seasonal cycle. All have their periods of hardest work. All have times away from the fields during which they can be around the village or home. There are also systems of cooperation that socialize labour and reduce its rigour for the individual.

These aspects of economic life, together with the religious factors referred to, can be illustrated by a brief summary of present agricultural activities in one sample area, the *barrios* of Otukan, Banao, Bauko, and Guinsadan in Lepanto.

In October comes the first digging of the rice terraces not in use at the time, the weeds being turned over along with straw from previous croppage as fertilizer. The work is done by men and women alike, either through hand labour or with the men using carabaos and ploughs where this is possible. In November there is a second digging and fertilizing, while in this month, too, the seed-beds are planted by the women. In December a final digging makes the fields ready for the main rice crop.



## *Food-getting and Commerce*

January is one of the busiest months. The seedlings are transplanted by groups of women and girls, the latter being kept from school to help their mothers. Little boys mind the babies and do general tasks. The men fix the irrigation ditches. At night the young people make fires on the terrace edges, or go with torches from the village in order to regulate constantly the flow of water in the newly planted beds. February sees the men out working on the roads and earning money, often staying away until harvesting time in June. The women and young people during these intervening months watch and weed the growing rice, clear the terrace walls and ditches, and regulate the water. In May they plant beans and *camote* (sweet-potato) on the hillside *kaingins*. By day the children guard the ripening fields from the predatory birds, often working an ingenious set of moving scarecrows from one central shelter. School attendance again suffers.

June and July are the harvest months. The fields ripen one after another over a period of perhaps eight weeks. Men and women share in the work, the whole village labouring more or less communally, carefully cutting stalk by stalk and carrying the product for storage in house-lofts and granaries until needed for the threshing that precedes each day's meals.

In August many or most of the fields are again dug over, in older times for planting *camote*, but now for a second rice crop. This is called in Lepanto the "Ilocano crop," as such double cropping is an innovation taken over from the lowlanders. The seed-beds are started, and in September the crop is planted out, to be harvested in December. September is also the month when the women harvest the beans and *camote* as they ripen. During the period from August to December the men do the heavy work of building and repairing walls and irrigation ditches.

Such yearly labour, however, would be futile—in the

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

belief of the people—if the appropriate rituals and ceremonies were not performed to ensure the favour of unseen forces. These are in charge of a chosen agricultural priest assisted by old men, one nominated from each *at-ato* or village section. When the time for transplanting is considered by them to be at hand, they proclaim a festival called *burgnas*. On an evening appointed as favourable, a ceremony is held in one of the *at-atos* selected for the purpose. At first rooster crow the next morning, the menfolk are aroused by beating of shields, and all go off in a party armed with spears and shields to consult the omens in their sacred mountain. If bird calls or other signs are favourable, they return with great joy and shouting; if not, the expedition must be repeated. Outside the *barrio* a sham fight is staged, an obvious modern survival from old headhunting days. Gongs sound, and group-dancing and singing are in order. The sacred holidays of the community are on, to last four or more days according to the nature of the further omens.

These are consulted by the agricultural priest and his fellows in two successive sacrificial ceremonies, one at the beginning of the period (*burgnas*) and one near the close (*pakdur*), the latter without gongs or dancing. Performed at the foot of two special "sacred trees," they comprise the sacrifice of one or more pigs, depending on the condition of the gall-bladders. Each *at-ato* must also make a sacrifice of a dog or chicken. The first transplanting is done by a woman selected for that purpose by the priest, and if the omens observed are satisfactory the whole ceremony is consummated and the planting can then be done. Unfavourable omens cause delay, for repetitions must be made accordingly. Less elaborate ceremonies are observed at planting, when *pakdur* alone is performed, and at the setting up of the first scarecrow, but the whole is repeated in full at the time of harvesting, a man going to cut the

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

first of the crop. At such periods no one is allowed to leave or enter the settlement. Interestingly enough, these rituals are observed only for the main rice crop, and not for the "secular" second crop.

The family has also private agricultural observances defined by custom. A woman returning from planting and transplanting the first and last seedlings has on each occasion to sacrifice a chicken on her arrival at the house, asking the god of luck to give good fortune. After the whole town has finished its transplanting, and again after harvesting, each family has to celebrate by sacrifices and ceremonies. Bad omens during the period, such as sickness in the family, call for special rituals either in the field or at home.

The planting of a second or wet-season rice crop in place of *camote* as here mentioned is an adjustment taken over not only by this district but also by the whole of Lepanto and Amburayan, Benguet, and south-western Kalinga. Ifugao and Bontoc, with one exception, still cling firmly to the older cycle. In 1929 a slug pest appeared in the vicinity of the Bontoc and Samoki *barrios* in the heart of the conservative area, and the regular rice crop was destroyed. Some braver spirits risked the wrath of deities and ancestors by trying a second rice crop in the *camote* season, and results were satisfactory both as regards the harvest and their personal safety. Repeated depredations by the pest have led to more extended second cropping in the succeeding years, though not without forebodings of sickness, bad luck, and future soil sterility on the part of the more conservative.

Human beings require some powerful driving force to cause them to work beyond mere subsistence needs, especially to labour cheerfully in hard circumstances. Among the mountain people this is supplied by the religious systems, also by kinship ties and other social factors.

What if the source of water runs dry? There are appropriate ceremonies to bring back the flow, and if these fail

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

then the gods require economic efforts to be transferred elsewhere. What if a succession of unsatisfactory omens cause the family to be deprived of all its livestock in sacrifices, even to run deeply into debt? That is the will of the deities who give and withhold luck; sustained sacrifices will surely cause the tide to turn—and with the resulting hard work it nearly always does. What if vast amounts of wealth are expended in ceremonies such as wedding feasts, public celebrations of *baknang* families, or death rites? All these are done in elaborate form only by the comparatively wealthy, and the poorer folk receive their share of the benefit. Such ceremonies give compensation in the form of prestige and social standing, please the ancestral spirits, provide a welcome break from toil, afford pleasant feast-foods to relieve and enrich a frugal diet, and incidentally keep the wheels of industry keyed to a faster pace than that required for mere subsistence, hence make for a greater margin of security against starvation.

The numerous sacrifices and ceremonies that regulate the life of the mountain peoples, usually grouped under the general term *cañao*, are often referred to by Christian lowlanders and by Americans as wasteful as well as pagan. Likewise the periodic holidays (*tengao* or *tungo*) kept by the community, and taboo periods of the family or individual, at times absorbing days in succession, are thought to consume time that could be spent more valuably in the fields. Omens, as governing life, are considered superstitions leading to irregular and irrational behaviour.

Without acting as apologists for the "heathen," it may nevertheless be pointed out that criticisms of this kind and especially attempts to break down such institutions have to be made very cautiously. The *cañao* to-day is still a chief instrument of economic distribution. It keeps wealth mobile and prevents its accumulation too much into the hands of the few. It has invaluable social functions, and is a psycho-

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

logical aid in trouble and sickness. To take it away is to deprive the mountain life of a main driving force, of its zest, and of the justification for working over and above mere subsistence and under such hard conditions. Unless something equally effective, stimulating, and full of rich experience can be found, its passing might well mean the growth of an extreme form of caciquism, possibly even a gradual cessation of the whole mountain system of agriculture, a depopulation of the area, and the descent of increasing numbers of landless people to seek employment in the lowlands.

As for the system of religious pauses during which the fields are deserted, it has to be remembered that the mountain people do not have a Sunday, and these are their equivalent days of rest. In a normal year a Lepanto family has about thirty such days, while there are fifty-two Sundays on the modern calendar, not to mention other holiday

The flight of birds and the movement of insects, too, may not be on the average less effective in giving sound judgments than the activities of "bulls" and "bears," or the multiple advice and advertisement items of the magazines. It also has to be remembered that a native system of taking omens is rarely as definite as most ethnological accounts imply; the interpreters of such phenomena can and do find means where necessary to make omens coincide with expediency, either through prescribed ceremonies or by informal methods. "On a ceremonial journey," remarked one practically minded mountaineer, "one should never look anywhere but just directly beneath one's feet, and then one is not likely to see any bad sign."

A striking fact to-day is that many communities and families, the so-called *bagos* of Ilocos Sur, La Union, and Pangasinan, who were formerly non-Christian mountaineers, but who now profess Christianity and are more or less "Ilocanized" in speech, dress, and custom, still retain the

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

*cañao*. This forms a measure of the likely tenacity of the institution over the more conservative sections of the Mountain Province. Incidentally, among the Maori people of New Zealand, who have long been Christianized and in touch with modern ways, a somewhat similar type of festive activity is still tenaciously preserved, in spite of like criticism. There, however, it has largely shed its religious connotation in terms of old beliefs and practices, and retains merely the functions of giving pleasure or honour, and stimulating socio-economic life. This suggests the possible lines of evolution the institution may take in the mountain region as the old religion weakens. Such a reduction of the fear motive in the *cañao* system, and perhaps its lessened use for curing sicknesses as faith in modern medical services increases, would remove most of the objectionable features, such as the sacrificing of work or breeding animals, or the pauperization of families because of serious illnesses or a run of bad omens. It would thus become equivalent to the *fiesta* of the Christian Filipino, which indeed may have its origins partly in a *cañao* system of pre-Christian days.

The *baknang* system too has, on the whole, been greatly misunderstood and hence condemned too sweepingly. Under old-time conditions the *baknang* was no plutocrat or *cacique*, but an organizer and leader of agriculture in the community. Much of the land was concentrated in his hands and poor people worked in his service, but though he and his fellows tended to establish a caste exclusiveness with passing generations, nevertheless in actual practice the net result under the customary law was to produce a fair distribution of economic privilege and responsibility between him and his poorer fellows. The *baknang* directed the work of his dependents, supplied food in time of shortage, and assumed the burden of economic organization; in discharging the socio-religious obligations inherent in his status in the form of

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

public feasts and elaborate community celebration of weddings, funerals, and other family ceremonies, he accumulated prestige and popularity rather than material goods in any permanent degree. He was, in other words, something like the old manorial lord.

There seems to have been a certain impermanence in the *baknang* class, especially in earlier times. A run of bad fortune and accumulating debts might spell ruin and waning prestige, due to inability to perform the ceremonies. On the other hand families might rise correspondingly through good fortune and strategic marriage. At least in some areas a tradition existed akin to the American idea of "from log-cabin to White House," and many a mountaineer still prays as of old both informally and in ceremonial to the deity of luck or to the culture-hero Lumauig, who is considered to have been a *baknang* when on earth: "Make me a *baknang* too!" The presence of *baknangs* in the mountain communities gives the people, in this sense, something of an advantage in the modern struggle towards a wider competence over many backward peoples whose customs are more communal. The native capitalist in these days of waxing powers is providing both a spur to ambition and a discipline in economic self-defence. But there is another aspect to this.

The old *baknang* system seems to have become most rigid in Benguet (page 57). Under modern economic conditions, however, there is a strong tendency for the *baknang* dominance to strengthen or develop everywhere. Something of an agrarian revolution is under way, in which *baknangs* are shedding their old responsibilities, and building up their wealth and privileges. Rice land and animals accumulate slowly but surely into their hands as the poorer people find themselves enmeshed in debt, or needing goods. Yet the people who are now becoming increasingly dependent upon them do not always get the return in the form

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

of celebrations, personal care, and other benefits. Though many or most *baknangs* value their prestige or are conservative to an extent which leads them to carry on the prescribed family rituals, the tendency is for individuals to put their wealth and standing in the eyes of the outside world above popularity among their fellows. The *cañao* system is notably lessening among some of the *baknangs* of Benguet. It is here that the danger lies for the economic future of the ordinary people: probably it forms the weakest spot in modern mountain economics, for the *baknang* is in many cases responding to modern influences and opportunities far ahead of his poorer brethren, and benefiting from their ignorance. It is likewise the hardest tendency to control, as has been found the world over where traditional privilege and modern capitalism have come together.

Yet the new conditions have also made possible the rise to wealth by mountain standards of enterprising individuals of non-*baknang* descent, some from the educated younger generation, and a few equipped only with their native intelligence. A number of mountain communities have dwelling among them families of part-mountain descent, the children or grandchildren of Spanish, Chinese, or low-land visitors and settlers. Some have risen to wealth and prominence, as with the Dominguez family of Bauko in Lepanto, the three generations of which combine Chinese, Spanish, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Ilocano blood. These "new *baknangs*," having no family traditions requiring them to perform public ceremonies, show the *cacique* tendency even more markedly than the old. In other words, it is not the *baknang* system as such that is at the base of the agrarian revolution, but rather the inflow of individualism from the outside world. Such individualism and commercialism are likewise slowly but surely heightening throughout all aspects of the native economic life, though not for a long time are they likely to reach a stage where general community co-



## *Food-getting and Commerce*

operation or the bonds of kin will show any great sign of being disturbed.

From time to time officials have voiced the hope that the native systems of borrowing money and passing land could be brought under control, in order to curb the tendency here pictured. Except as referred to in previous chapters (pages 143, 174), no direct move has been possible. Government authority, vested as it is more or less of necessity in outstanding members of the *baknang* group, has if anything been a stimulus rather than a restraint to their power. Two factors, however, must be accounted as on the side of the lesser landowner or poorer person. First, there is the intense land consciousness of the people which causes them to cling to their holdings tenaciously. Second, there are now avenues available of earning money with which to carry over hard times or repay debts. This latter also tends to set a minimum standard of pay below which the *baknang* cannot employ labourers. Such factors are largely a by-product of and dependent upon the system of communications established by the government, allowing the native to move quickly over long distances, as to the mines of Baguio or to the lowlands. At an earlier point the results of neglecting such communications were evaluated in terms of public order. In socio-economic terms any such neglect would seemingly mean a lapse to an exaggerated caciquism, in which the new individualism of the rich would have free rein, and the majority of the people could be virtually enslaved.

## *Internal Commerce*

In addition to their agriculture, the mountain peoples spend a considerable time manufacturing goods either for use within the family and community, or for barter and exchange with other groups. Men fashion wooden tools and utensils, also articles of basketry, except among the Isneg, where this

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

latter is women's work. Women weave cloths, now almost entirely with imported yarns of various colours, but in old days out of bark or grass stained with native dyes. Some families in particular *barrios* are expert workers in metal, fashioning weapons, tools, and pipes out of iron and bronze brought by trade from the coast, or ornaments of gold won from the workings of Benguet, and in the case of Mankayan in Lepanto, vessels of copper from the mines there. Salt is manufactured in certain places where there are saline springs. Rattan comes from areas where it grows to those *barrios* which lack it. The women in a number of *barrios* where suitable clay is found make pots, which are sold in the markets or in neighbouring settlements. A great diversity in the pattern of such material objects exists, and even in the same culture area there are all kinds of minor variations between the work of different communities and family craft-workers, over which they have a kind of tacitly recognized patent right.

In old days there was a considerable commerce between friendly *barrios*, and probably also between settlements potentially hostile, at least through some intermediate community. Bila in Lepanto and Samoki in Bontoc were, for instance, among the centres of pottery distribution. Balbalasan in Kalinga, Musimut in Apayao, and a number of other *barrios* were famed for the product of their smithies, and there were a number of different shapes of artifact characteristic of these different places. Hapao in Ifugao was famous for its carvers in wood, and the great American mining plants of Benguet had their forerunners in native smelters. Mainit in Bontoc was a place of pilgrimage for those desiring salt. The *baknang* families of Lepanto buried their dead in expensive and rare blankets that came over a long trading route by way of Buguias and Kayapa from the Isinai of Nueva Vizcaya. This is still so to-day, though now traders bring them on occasional visits by way of the

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

provincial roads. Such peaceful barter was no doubt supplemented as a means of distribution by victorious plundering in enemy country.

The stability of modern times has been favourable to the accumulation of greater material possessions; under hostile conditions there was a discouraging insecurity now entirely absent. This, and the new mobility allowed by developed means of communication, together with the establishment of government markets and private stores, have brought a great extension in such internal commerce, though at the same time the mountain craftsman and manufacturer has to compete more and more with goods from the lowlands.

A shape of head-axe usual in Bontoc is now found widely in Apayao. The Bontoc people, who three decades ago dressed in woven bark or grass cloth, are now variously resplendent in brilliant gee-strings and *tapis* cloths woven, perhaps locally, with Kalinga or Ifugao designs, often having a Lepanto blanket over these. Yet conservatism still exists. A Bontoc man almost invariably wears a rakish little hat on the back of his head according to the old fashion, even if, especially among the younger people, it may now have a shape or decoration correct to some other *barrio* from that where it is found, or be made anywhere from Tinglayan to Lias. House shapes and building techniques remain tenaciously, even though innovations are found. Each culture area retains its dress styles for men and women, except in so far as these are being displaced by garments of western pattern. But what are sometimes referred to as the "blue and white peoples," since their material objects are traditionally dyed mainly with those colours—the Ifugao, Benguet, Lepanto, and Isneg—are now tolerating and even appreciating fabrics and beads in which red and yellow appear freely, the colours characteristic of Kalinga and the Gaddang.

Jarring as all this mingling may be to the emotions of

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the anthropologist as disturbing his formerly clear-out categories, it is symptomatic of a steady inter-penetration of the mountain cultures that under normal conditions should continue in the future. A voluntary process arising out of real needs and new appreciations, it cannot but be enriching in the long run even if confusing to aesthetic standards for a time. But just how far it will go toward breaking down local conservatism, especially in matters more vital than material culture, is hard to estimate. If human experience in general counts for anything, it should at least be exceedingly slow.

Two further types of native commerce are of importance: traffic in rice, and in precious jars and beads.

Numbers of *barrios*, nearly all in the "granary" area of Kalinga, but in a few instances in Lepanto (as Guinsadan) and Bontoc (as Natonin and Malegcong), have in good years a plentiful harvest, part of which they prefer to barter for other goods. This is done sometimes in direct transactions with neighbouring *barrios* not so fortunate in their rice production and who have manufactured articles or livestock to dispose of. Usually, however, it is passed in to the store-keepers in exchange for goods or money, and they in turn market it at other points, usually at Bontoc town. Until several years ago, practically all commercial rice bought by the Bontoc people, with money earned through non-agricultural work, and also by the non-native residents in Bontoc territory, came from Kalinga, a lucrative business for the people and merchants of that region. With the opening of roads, however, rice has been brought in more cheaply from the lowlands, and the trade has fallen away, at least temporarily.

An expert in Chinese porcelain, pottery, and jewellery would have a rich field of investigation in many a jungle and mountain home. Precious jars (*gosi*), plates, and beads are among the most prized wealth of almost all the moun-

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

tain peoples. In northern Kalinga and Isneg country they are a main basis of family prestige now that warfare has ceased. According to traditions these came mostly through trade from China, probably during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: jars and pots of all sizes up to four feet high or more, and glazed in varying shades, some with dragon and like patterns, porcelain plates of undoubtedly rare make, and bright coloured beads of amber, porcelain, and other materials. These are preserved with the utmost care, and passed down from generation to generation. Each different kind, even to the smallest bead, has its name and set value in ceremonial terms, some of the pots being valued at the equivalent of two hundred pesos or more. In recent years Chinese traders have put imitations on the mountain market, but the mountaineer, while he buys them to some extent, is "not to be deceived—he is a connoisseur in such articles."

The great financial wealth that has come to Kalinga families from the sale of rice has been to quite an extent invested in purchasing these precious goods from other peoples. Little Kalinga maidens or schoolboys often go through their ordinary daily work with beads on hair or neck worth five hundred pesos. Every household of importance has wealth of this kind that assesses, perhaps, far above that of its lands and carabao combined. To a lesser extent this is true of many wealthy families throughout the province. Among the Isneg the "bride price" will always include from one to four jars according to the status of the person. Everywhere such jars are used to ferment the native wines, and their values depend in part upon the reputation of each jar in this respect. In contrast with the many types and colours of beads in the north, the Lepanto woman favours a string of amber beads with which she catches her hair in place. In Apayao the worth placed upon three bead necklaces seen by the writers was one thousand

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

pesos. Such values, however, do not mean they would readily be sold for that: the "prices" are assessed in connection with their transfer within the native socio-economic system. As with the antique chair of an old family house or the engagement ring of a western wife, such objects have historical and social values to the mountaineer which make him regard them as more or less unsaleable, only to be passed according to custom.

### *External Commerce*

From pre-Spanish times certain trade relationships were maintained between the mountaineers and the lowlanders. Iron was needed and, in most communities, salt. Other goods were also welcomed in exchange for the mountain products of gold, honey, wax, hides, rattan, and the like.

By now such trade has greatly expanded. Truckloads of pigs and chickens come from the lowlands to the markets at Baguio, Bontoc, and Ifugao. Lowland traders from Ilocos and Pangasinan send rice to these centres, also Nueva Vizcaya traders bring it to Ifugao. Materials woven in Ilocos, often in direct imitation of the mountain designs formerly woven in bark or fibre, as for burial clothing or *baknang* head-dresses, are sold in the markets, together with hats, shirts, dresses, blankets, jackets, and other garments made in western style; the clothing of the mountaineer over and above the men's gee-string or the women's *tapis* (skirt), especially as displayed during cold weather or leisure periods and on the children, is now exceedingly heterogeneous. A variety of other goods are also sold, from electric torches to corrugated iron for roofing. The southern Benguet people, coming often into Baguio, especially over the weekends, to sell goods or spend money earned in the mines or through other work, buy canned fish and similar commercial foods, and numbers subsist almost entirely on such

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

purchases. Stores in the public markets or on the streets of Baguio and the sub-provincial capitals are run not only by lowlanders but also by Japanese, British-Indians, and Chinese. Many other important *barrios* have stores, conducted usually by Ilocanos or by persons of part-mountain descent. Such trading, mostly done at the markets established by the government, has, so to speak, turned the mountain province commercially inside out, with Baguio and Bontoc as the main trade centres. Nevertheless parties from some communities still make the long journey over old trade routes to the lowland towns for purposes of barter. To the Gaddang the stores of Isabelita are closer than those of Bontoc or Lubuagan; the Lepanto visit Cervantes; the Kalinga of the west carry rice, coffee, cacao, pots, and other products into Abra; the north-eastern Kalinga take rattan, baskets, mats, brooms, and leaf raincoats into Tuao and other Cagayan towns; the Isneg go both to Solsona in Ilocos Norte and to Abulog in Cagayan; and the Negritos visit Cagayan settlements such as Allacapan.

In 1907 the provincial authorities organized a system of "exchanges" at the centres so that the mountaineers could trade without the danger of exploitation such as took place extensively in earlier years. Native handicrafts were encouraged, and arrangements made to market the products in Manila and elsewhere. But such interference with private enterprise was naturally resented by the trading concerns. In 1924-25 the financial state of the venture, coupled with the fact that trading conditions had improved to a point where extreme forms of exploitation were no longer likely, caused the government to close down such exchanges, leaving the mountain trade wholly to private enterprise. A system of licences gives full official control over this latter. By now, too, the mountaineer knows his values in all ordinary transactions sufficiently to look after himself, even should a trader seek to cheat him.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Nevertheless the present lack of an organized marketing system for native manufactures is a great loss, as only rarely can the non-Christian get his goods to the tourist or other purchaser without the intermediary trader taking a very large profit. On the whole the current prices paid to the native for his remarkable metal, wood, and weaving work is pitifully low. As trade continues to expand, and native manufactures are increasingly displaced by cheaper machine-made artifacts, or by a growing quantity of imitation goods made by Ilocanos and Japanese in Baguio, the crafts are liable to die out correspondingly, unless there is some incentive and encouragement.<sup>3</sup> This would indeed be a cultural loss which the authorities should do their best to prevent.

Where, it may be asked, do the mountain people get the money to meet the purchase of goods for expanding needs, and to pay their financial obligations to the government? Besides disposing of native products, such as those mentioned, to private traders, large quantities of rice, vegetables, meat and other foodstuffs are sold to constabulary posts, school-teachers, and missions. Considerable gold mining is still done by natives in Benguet according to old methods, notably by Kankanai who have migrated southward, and the product is sold to special buyers. The government employs many mountaineers, from high officials to road labourers. Three large mines at Antomok, Balatok, and Itogon in Benguet employ about 2,500 labourers daily throughout the year, a considerable proportion of whom are mountaineers. Some also work in saw-mills, and between planting and harvest large numbers of the men, especially from Ifugao and Lepanto, go to the Cagayan and Cervantes

<sup>3</sup> The *Annual Report of the Deputy-Governor of Benguet* for 1932 stated that: "Many of the women know how to weave cloth, but they do not do it, for they can buy clothes from the local stores much cheaper than they can weave it." This will soon be true also of other areas.



## *Food-getting and Commerce*

valleys respectively seeking work. Some Lepanto men even move on to the Ilocos coast and into the lowland provinces to the south. They either walk to their destination or seek rides on the many empty trucks that pass down from the mountain markets. Numbers do not get their pay in money,

### *EXPORTS (in pesos)*

			1930	1931	1932
Apayao	..	..	2,491	9,929	22,751
Benguet	..	..	7,135,145	7,523,377	8,906,638
Bontoc	..	..	1,209	1,043	7,241
Ifugao	..	..	10,000	4,785	32,350
Kalinga	..	..	8,560	8,800	6,600
Totals	..	..	7,157,405	7,547,934	8,975,580

### *IMPORTS (in pesos)*

			1930	1931	1932
Apayao	..	..	15,989	46,113	106,524
Benguet	..	..	338,930	271,372	1,070,050
Bontoc	..	..	168,000	240,000	133,085
Ifugao	..	..	90,000	60,000	63,000
Kalinga	..	..	19,800	20,400	15,485
Totals	..	..	632,719	637,885	1,388,144

but bring back livestock instead. Kalinga men similarly go to work in Abra and the Ibaloi in Pangasinan. Here and there individuals stay away several years, and, unless word comes through by chance, they are often mourned as dead.

The above, from the annual provincial reports, is a summarized table of the mountain commerce, in which the estimated exports and imports of the sub-province

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

are given for the three years 1930 to 1932 inclusive. No separation can be made, unfortunately, between the commerce of the mountain people and that of non-mountaineers.

If account is taken of the fact that in Benguet the three municipal districts of Itogon, La Trinidad, and Tuba, where the non-native mining, lumbering, and gardening enterprises are located, exported all told 8,881,896 pesos worth of products in 1932,<sup>4</sup> a better perspective is gained of the true place of the sub-province in the whole as apart from these special districts. The bulk of Benguet imports go also to these areas. The sudden upward turn shown in Apayao is due to the expansion of Ilocano settlement and the activities of lumber concessionaires in the municipal district of Luna. Incidentally the mountain people have been benefited rather than hurt by the present depression, as their ordinary life has been unaffected, while they can now purchase livestock for "less than half" of what they formerly paid, and other goods are likewise cheaper.

### *Official Efforts to Stimulate Economic Life*

The compulsory planting of coffee and tobacco and the exactions of foodstuffs in Spanish times did not provide an auspicious beginning in economic relations between the government and the mountaineers.

An enthusiastic American administration, visualizing in early days a rosy future for their wards as growers of temperate and sub-tropical products and as ranchers, sought to press the various communities into economic self-service. It also extended to the province as rapidly as possible the benefits of scientific agriculture and industry through its government departments and their technical experts.

Nurseries and seedling stations were established to diver-

<sup>4</sup> The gold output of Benguet for 1932 totalled 8,331,479 pesos in value, and the lumber 399,899 pesos.

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

sify agriculture, breeding of better stock was made possible, and insect pests, blights, and animal diseases were brought under control. Agriculture was made a practical subject in schools through the formation of school gardens and farms, in the hope that this would produce in the younger generations an appreciation of modern farming methods. A central agricultural high school was formed at La Trinidad in Benguet, while opportunity was provided for selected individuals to go for more advanced agricultural instruction. Agricultural fairs were conducted in the centres to give visual stimulus to the new ideas. Food production campaigns were launched. By 1915 experiments were under way in introducing coffee from Java that would be free from blight, the chief enemy of the Spanish and first American experiments, and securing bamboos from Japan that would be suited to the colder climate; in improving rice through seed selection; in establishing the silkworm industry, with the aid of the Belgian mission; and in popularizing the cultivation of such plants as pineapples, potatoes, corn, and peanuts. Officials making inspection trips have year after year explained and urged the adoption of the new methods and products. Undeterred by Spanish failures, efforts were put forth to spread the population more evenly, and persuade the semi-nomadic peoples to settle. More immediate aid was rendered by giving tools and dynamite to break additional land into cultivation. Statistics were to be presented annually by the deputy-governors summarizing the conditions, especially showing the numbers of seedlings sown in crops during the year.

The mountaineers, taken by such assault, responded for the most part enthusiastically except where the new involved any serious disturbance of the old cycles of economic activity. But once sufficient time had elapsed for them to see what really suited their own purposes, inclinations, and tastes, the real battle joined between government urgings

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

on the one hand and conservatism or indifference on the other.

Within easy access of the centres, as in the vicinity of Baguio or at Kiangnan, considerable amounts of vegetables, and in the former place berries, are now grown for sale by natives. They are either hawked by the women from door to door, or disposed of through the markets. The breeds of stock have been improved in parts, especially in Benguet at La Trinidad, where better animals have been available at the agricultural school. A considerable quantity of coffee and cacao are now disposed of by communities in Kalinga, Ifugao, and Bontoc. Indeed, a fair amount of coffee is grown for family use by those of the mountaineers who have developed a liking for it. Some areas, notably the Binuan valley in Apayao, are proving excellent for tobacco growing, and considerable quantities are exported to Cagayan, where the product commands a relatively high price. People in some *barrios* have learned to saw their lumber rather than fashion it by wasteful chipping methods. At Bauko in Lepanto the Dominguez family (page 200) have developed an extensive orchard which is commercially most successful, growing oranges, *avacados*, and other semi-tropical fruits. Farm schools in the more isolated areas, also school gardens, are well cared for by pupils. The local officials for the most part report outbreaks of disease among animals, or the presence of plant pests, though not always as promptly as the appropriate authorities would wish. In similar ways there has been much ground gained.

Yet progress measured either against the ideal, or against the effort and money expended, has so far been relatively slow. Partly this has been caused by environmental conditions: it has been found that fruit trees or tobacco, for instance, can be grown successfully only in certain localities. Mostly, however, it has been produced by the resistance to innovation already referred to.

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

Undeterred by this slowing up of the hoped-for economic advance, present day officials feel the necessity of doing all possible to equip the mountain peoples for their intensifying struggle with hard circumstances. Only by expanding food production and commercial activities, they say, can an increasing population be maintained, or can standards of living rise to the level necessary for anything like complete assimilation into Filipino life. Some indeed still hold out bright hopes for future mountain development with a fuller exploitation of coffee, cattle ranching, lumber resources, fruit and vegetable growing, and the like.

Two agricultural extension agents have been working permanently in the Mountain Province during recent years, one in Benguet, the other with headquarters in Bontoc. They have mainly been concerned with promoting the coffee industry. With the aid of local officials, some thousands of coffee and other seedlings continue to be distributed yearly from the central nurseries, seedling stations, and school farms. They also take active measures where possible against locust invasions which attack the mountain crops from time to time, and against pests and blights. The Bureau of Animal Industry sends inspectors to the province to deal with any outbreaks of disease among cattle and carabao, and vaccination against rinderpest has been widespread. Pig and chicken diseases, however, are not so easily dealt with, as the mountaineer usually kills his ailing stock for *cañao* or food purposes, and so does not normally report diseases. Efforts are continued to improve the breeds of such livestock; in 1932, for instance, a poultry club was formed at Bontoc with a good membership. In the same year a number of government cattle were sent to the *barrio* of Mainit to demonstrate to the cattle-owners there, who in typical mountain fashion let their animals run untended in the mountains, the proper care of such stock. In 1929 and 1932 the Bureau of Science likewise

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

took steps to restock some of the mountain waters with fish.

That many of the mountain people could ultimately make the climatic adjustments of coming to the lower regions, provided malaria could be controlled, and that *kaingin* agriculturalists could be got to concentrate in settlements and learn new techniques of cultivation, seems proved by the history of early Spanish mission efforts. That they are likely to make these adjustments quickly as a result of official enactments or urgings is a different matter. From 1915 on, experiments in settling Ifugao to the east have proved all but useless (page 174); Negrito colonies founded at Nagan and Allacapan in north-eastern Apayao disappeared within a few years, leaving only their coconut trees as a monument to the government's hopes and good intentions. An ordinance of the provincial board in 1920 requiring every head of a family in Apayao to provide himself with a farm and grow a stated amount of rice and corn was simply disregarded. The same fate met a resolution of the Bontoc municipal council in that year making it the duty of every family to secure and maintain at least one sow, one cock, and ten hens. In 1931 an agricultural ambassador was sent to Apayao from Bontoc under official auspices to teach the Isneg how to construct rice terraces for irrigated agriculture; the Isneg admired them, but made no move to copy. When in 1932 the deputy-governor of Bontoc urged the Gaddang through their native officials to form similar rice fields, they replied that it was easier for them to use the *kaingin* system, that it provided enough food, and that it was "what their god taught."

In 1926 the provincial governor induced twenty families to move from Samoki *barrio* in Bontoc to Ngipen in the lower Chico valley (Kalinga), though "the wrench to get them loose was terrific." These formed the nucleus of the Gobgob colony (page 175). Within a year they were "routed

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

by malaria"; but fifteen families struggled on. A larger group were next settled at Tuga nearby, comprising (by 1932) 21 families of Kalinga from an adjoining *barrio*, 25 of Ilocano from Cervantes, 12 of Tinggian from Abra, and 5 from Balbalasan in west Kalinga, together with 3 La Trinidad agricultural school graduates from Benguet, who joined the colony in the year mentioned. These colonists, 358 persons in all, were given land grants of from 2 to 16 hectares in extent for each family, and have also received advances of food and equipment from the government. At the earlier stages a direct financial allowance was made to all families; but this part of the plan was abolished, as it was found to impair work effort. The agricultural operations of the colony have been supervised by a permanent superintendent, and their health cared for by a male nurse. A school has been established for the children with an attendance of about one hundred.

In the original plan the large financial outlay was to be gradually paid back by the colonists as they became self-supporting. But no such refunds have yet been forthcoming, and none, according to officials, are in prospect. It is expected that in the retrenchment plans of 1933 the current subsidies will have to be withdrawn. But most or nearly all of the colonists should be sufficiently established to maintain their present holdings, and the authorities hope that they will gradually be joined by others so as to make the colony permanent.<sup>5</sup>

On the whole the experiment can be considered a practical success, but in terms of cost it gives no great encouragement for the working out of future more extensive colonizing schemes, at least until other factors such as education and economic pressure come into more pronounced operation.

<sup>5</sup> See a report of the Gobgob superintendent, in *Annual Report of the Deputy-Governor of Kalinga*, 1932.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

### *Official Measures for Protection and Conservation*

Just as the government has established legal supervision over dealings in real property and requires traders to hold licences, so in several further ways it seeks to prevent exploitation of the non-Christian, and to conserve his resources.

Current wages for carriers (*cargadores*), for boatmen on the Abulog river, and for various other forms of labour, are either directly prescribed, or else given a value as a result of the set government rates of pay. An ordinance of the provincial board (No. 12, 1923) requires all persons, associations, corporations, or their agents who recruit labour among the mountaineers, to submit their labour contracts to the provincial governor or his deputies, who have to see that their terms are fully understood and approved. The same ordinance, amended later, makes it the duty of these officials to furnish information, financial and otherwise, to non-Christians intending to visit outside the Mountain Province or in Baguio, with a view to giving aid and protection. Passes are also required by such non-Christians, to be issued only to persons who are not likely to become indigent, hence to get into trouble and have to be sent back at government expense. This latter provision, however, is hard to apply, as many mountain communities now depend so largely on the earnings of their menfolk in these areas.

Certain forms of protection apply less to individuals than to resources, namely forestry and game conservation.

The early forestry laws of the Philippines exempted non-Christians from supervision in cutting timber for their own use. A law of 1919 (No. 2812) modified this privilege by requiring permission to be obtained universally before utilizing or cutting "fruit trees and bushes" in the public forests. In 1925 an ordinance of the provincial board (No. 25)



## *Food-getting and Commerce*

forbade all burning of mountains and hills or cutting of small trees without official permission.

At the present time the Bureau of Forestry maintains a district forest officer in the province with headquarters in Baguio, and under him two foresters in Bontoc, one each in Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao, and several in Benguet. Their duties include control of *kaingin* burning and lumber cutting as far as this is feasible, though naturally their supervision can be anything but complete. Assisted by a number of native fire-wardens, usually councillors of the *barrios*, and paid a small stipend met jointly by the Bureaux of Forestry and Non-Christian Tribes, they guard the forests from fire and seek to educate the people in the importance of avoiding wanton destruction or carelessness. Already there are communities suffering from a shortage of wood for building purposes and fuel. The mountaineer, official reports tell, has little sense of responsibility in the matter, and firing of the forest, especially along the Agno and Amburayan valleys in Benguet, is "a habit that will take a long time to cure." Year after year in the drier season forest fires sweep over the slopes, killing millions of trees. Nevertheless, strict prosecution of individual offenders, and administrative punishment in the form of planting trees on devastated areas imposed on their townsfolk as a whole, are having some effect.

In 1928, at the request of the provincial authorities, an order of the Department of Agriculture and National Resources declared a close season of three years for all wild birds and mammals in the Mountain Province. This, however, was not to affect a special exemption clause (Section 16 of Act 2590) which allowed actual residents of the area to hunt. The action was aimed primarily at hunters from Cagayan, Isabela, and Nueva Vizcaya, whose intensive inroads upon the mountain game, mostly for commercial purposes, was causing a scarcity. The Negrito, and

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the Gaddang, and other *kaingin* peoples who depended so largely upon hunting were particularly being affected. This prohibition was extended in 1931 for a further three years. Unfortunately the provincial authorities, in asking for this, were not aware that the exemption clause referred to had been repealed.<sup>6</sup> In legal terms, therefore, the mountain peoples were forbidden to hunt. The provincial governor at once made a strong recommendation that the exemption be revived:

"The natives of the Mountain Province must hunt to live. They will hunt regardless of the law, as they have always hunted. To prosecute them is as unfair as it is unjust. There have already been a number of cases of arrest, prosecution, and sentence of natives . . . who were hunting in order to provide themselves and families with food" (from *Annual Report, 1931*).

Pending the restoration of the privilege the governor ordered the release of native offenders in all such cases. No action had been taken by February 1933, but the repeal was then pending.

In general the mountaineer meets government laws of this kind with indifference, if not suspicion and resentment. The timber, for example, has been his since time immemorial. He still considers it as such, regardless of the fact that the Philippine government through its Forestry Bureau has assumed legal possession.

## *The Economic Future*

What promise emerges from this short survey for mountain economics in the years to come?

The native systems of food production and consumption will no doubt undergo certain changes in the new generations, as freedom from the absolute authority of tradition is slowly but surely achieved. Areas now producing a single rice

<sup>6</sup> Section 7 of Act 3730.

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

crop, for instance, will follow those now double cropping. Scientific knowledge will be applied increasingly to improve and diversify grains, root crops and livestock along lines indicated by the experience of the past decades. Better tools may be introduced to lighten labour, and modern engineering equipment and skill will join with native techniques to improve irrigation systems, as in the case of a great project long planned and now under way to bring water from Mainit to Bontoc and so open up large areas for rice cultivation. The *cañao* system should become simplified so as to be less of a drain on economic resources, and less serious in its inroads on stock-selection for breeding purposes.

Individuals, perhaps those who have been through agricultural courses, and small congenial groups, desiring to go back to the land, especially as they grow older and have sown their economic wild oats in the mines or around the lowlands, should turn increasingly from the crowded areas to unoccupied lands where they can pioneer for themselves. A handful are already doing so, and lands are now being reserved for this development. Once they have thrust down roots, others less daring should follow in increasing numbers from sheer economic pressure in the home areas. Government aid in the form of advances of equipment and food at the beginning, besides medical care, seems fairly essential, particularly as it will be the poorest people and young folk without financial means who will tend to go first. The gradual improvement of communications in Kalinga, Apayao, Bontoc, and eastern Ifugao would be a great stimulus to settlement there. Such road extension would have profound influence toward cultural assimilation, as the experience of Benguet with its network of good roads and trails indicates; yet it will be hard to realize, due to the great engineering costs and the sparseness of the population to be served. Apayao, especially, has such vast distances and small num-

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

bers that local labour for the work and also for maintenance would be scant; settlement and communications are probably destined to wait reciprocally on each other for a long time. At least the road now more or less formed from Lubuagan to Gobgob should be continued on to Cagayan as soon as possible so as to provide a complete highway through the greater part of the province.

"Coffee production on a large scale (by mountaineers)," states the report of the provincial governor for 1931, "can become a realized fact . . . with the mere scratch already made in this direction, the Mountain Province now ranks third in the coffee-producing provinces in the Philippines. With sufficient financial backing and scientific handling, it might rank with the coffee-producing countries of the world. It has already been fully demonstrated that coffee does well all over the province." Unfortunately the myriad of coffee seedlings distributed and planted since 1914 have had a sorry chance in the face of blight, neglect, and ignorance. Here and there families have trees now bearing, and the markets of Benguet, Bontoc, Kalinga, and Ifugao receive quantities for sale. That such coffee is readily bought by lowland traders is not to be wondered at in view of the fact that the Philippines is to-day importing annually over a million and a half pesos worth of coffee from other countries (1,653,750 pesos is the average for the last five years), indicating a vast potential market for the local product.

The difficulties in making the mountaineer "coffee minded" are bound up partly with the problems of land tenure, but mostly with the relative complexity of the technical processes involved, and the long time needed for the crop to come to bearing. No doubt the mountain peoples will in time acquire the necessary knowledge and patience, so that the present official efforts in this direction are fully justified. There are, however, two special lines along which, the writers consider, government stimulation might

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

move so as to obtain more rapid results. The first would be to concentrate upon the "coffee education" of the *baknang* or native capitalist class, as it is this group who have rights over much of the suitable land not now in use for terraces and *kaingins*, and can call upon the necessary labour supply. Their example would then stimulate the smaller landowners. Yet even more effective than this, especially in areas like Lepanto and Bontoc, where there is a spirit of group cooperation, would be the development of community or group enterprises in coffee growing, using expert managers supplied by the Bureau of Agriculture to organize and supervise work effort. Such cooperative ventures, financed at the early stages by government loans but later more than self-supporting, have proved the economic salvation of sections of the Maori people in New Zealand, bringing idle lands into production and providing industries that were too technical and slow for the people to engage in individually.

Exactly the same applies to the potential mountain industries of cacao and fruit growing. Over the last five years the Philippines have imported cocoa of an average annual value of 1,282,926 pesos. The orchards of Bauko (page 212) have received far more orders than could possibly be filled, and their reputation is spreading. Both these industries stand, however, where coffee was nearly two decades ago. Progress on the individualistic basis is likely to be equally slow apart from some more organized stimulus.

The question is pertinent as to whether large sections of the mountain area suitable for coffee, cacao, or fruits could not be made productive by outside enterprise, as have mining and vegetable growing in Benguet. This no doubt could be done by individuals or groups with sufficient capital, though hardly by small holders from the lowlands, who would suffer not only from the disabilities faced by the mountaineers but also from the financial difficulties

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

attendant on cultivating a product which matures so slowly. It would not seem fair, however, to allow non-native interests to acquire an absolute title to mountain lands for this purpose, even where suitable areas are now uncultivated and unoccupied. Quite apart from the storm of protest that would be raised by the mountaineers, as indicated in the previous chapter, it would penalize future generations of mountain people on account of the natural conservatism and inexperience of those now living. Yet under a renting system such enterprises might well provide a healthy stimulus.

The problem involved in stock raising is not to find grazing lands—they are vast—but to get the product in good condition to the markets at reasonable transportation cost. So far almost all herds maintained for commercial purposes in the province are in districts of Benguet and Lepanto readily available to such markets. Some enthusiasts have urged the development of this industry in Apayao and on the rolling foothills of the east. Those who have studied the prospects from the practical viewpoint seem agreed, however, that the transportation problem renders such enterprises quite prohibitive, at least until a more adequate system of communications is developed. Nor is there any extensive local market. In Apayao, for instance, two animals a month appear to be the maximum slaughtered for consumption at the capital; and in eastern Bontoc, strangely enough, the Barlig and Natonin people have a complete local taboo on cattle and carabao meat as food. Nevertheless, within the present limits of transport there is considerable room for extension in the industry. An expert survey of the prospects for ranching and marketing by the appropriate government bureau would be of material benefit, especially if the results and recommendations were placed before the people through the local officials in the regions concerned.

Gold exists throughout the mountain area in "an almost

## *Food-getting and Commerce*

indefinite number of small deposits, unprofitable for extraction by the big companies, but that could be worked by individual miners." As yet only the southern Benguet and Mankayan people are "gold-conscious." Nevertheless the future should see a real interest in exploiting this resource, notably by those returning from the mines. Tobacco growing has demonstrated its excellent commercial possibilities in Apayao and other parts, and also holds promise of becoming a larger industry than at present, though here again there is a problem of glutted markets, this time in the lowlands.

Exploitation of the extensive timber resources—pine in the highlands, and many kinds of forest trees in Apayao and other regions of less altitude—falls into a rather different category. The Bureau of Forestry holds them in trust for the country as a whole. Cutting for commercial purposes is to-day limited to certain non-native concessionaires in Benguet, eastern Ifugao, and Apayao. Under the circumstances the hopes of lumber proving a salvation for some of the mountain groups do not seem justified, except perhaps as enterprising individuals might secure similar concessions and employ their fellows as workers.

So far very few mountaineers have been successful in business, though numbers are employed as store assistants or agents. In Lepanto certain persons bring in livestock from the coast; "but none have grown rich at it." In time, no doubt, educated individuals will branch out in active competition with lowlanders and immigrant orientals for the mountain trade, but for lack of contacts and in the face of established enterprises they are not likely to achieve anything approaching a monopoly. Mountaineers have been more successful in the skilled trades and crafts, and there they can already compete fairly well with outsiders. Yet the number of business and trade enterprises within the mountain area has now reached more or less the limits possible until time brings changed conditions. Opportunities

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

for non-agricultural work are now scarce, including employment in the government service; indeed the saturation point is well in sight, if not already overstepped, in terms of the depression conditions of to-day.

The mountain region then has no very enticing prospect for the economic future, either from the viewpoint of the mountaineer, especially the educated mountaineer, or of the lowlander who might turn his hopes there. Except as Ilocanos may continue to settle and bring into value marginal areas permitted them by the government, the number of outsiders who can find a place is strictly limited by the number of official, trading, and other openings of the kind available. Native agricultural expansion, apart from actual migration, will continue to be extremely confined and slow. Stark rock faces, stony river beds, parched and barren hillsides frown grimly over the most patient and strenuous human efforts.

The material future of the mountaineers, however, involves much wider factors. Some observers indeed predict that the only ultimate end in sight as a consequence of the modern maladjustment of youth, the opening up of new lines of opportunity, and the rejection of old traditions, is a gradual depopulation of the mountain area. Without the discipline of necessity, they prophesy, and with a knowledge or belief that outside conditions are easier, increasing numbers of the oncoming youth will leave for the lowlands.

Is this, then, to be the inevitable finale of the mountain peoples in the process of assimilation, at least until overcrowding and pressure in the lowlands checks the movement, perhaps driving other groups to face the rigours of the fastnesses? Is it the desirable end in terms both of native and wider Filipino welfare? The answer to such questions, it seems to the writers, lies largely in the hands of those officials and mission workers who direct the policies and practices of schools and other educational agencies.



## CHAPTER VIII

### MISSIONS AND HEALTH AUTHORITIES VERSUS THE OLD RELIGION

WHEN any group or society is passing or due to pass through a period of comprehensive change in its ways of living, there are needs that can properly be met only by special education. Each generation of individuals is called upon to face conditions for which the experience of the previous generation is decidedly inadequate. This throws a heavy burden and responsibility upon the educational and ameliorative agencies seeking to influence the direction of cultural change, especially among the youth.

So serious is the task that there is inevitably a tendency to simplify matters by concentrating in a few directions, and in others leaving cultural reorganization to work itself out as best it may. Probably this is as wise as it is inevitable in view of humanity's uncertain knowledge of human nature; but if so, it is all the more important to consider with care what are the elements on which attention may best be concentrated and what with the least harm may be neglected.

This and the following chapter will survey and analyse the activities and aims of the three main ameliorative agencies now at work among the mountain peoples: the missions, concerned primarily with their spiritual welfare though interested in all educational matters, the health service, dealing with bodily and mental hygiene, and the schools, seeking to develop intellectual, vocational, and civic competence. What are the results and limitations of their efforts? To what extent are the old ways yielding? In what degree is their work tending to produce conditions favourable to assimilation?

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

### *The Missions at Work*

Among the mountaineers, as already seen at many points, the old modes of thought and conduct are bulwarked by the belief that everything as it is has been willed thus by the gods and ancestors who may resent and punish innovations. Success in producing any fundamental changes in mountain customs as apart from mere compulsion and repression, therefore, has depended primarily on at least modifying the old religion. The work of the missions is thus at the heart of effective and permanent cultural change to-day, just as the margins of their success in earlier times largely defined the present boundaries of the Mountain Province.

An outline of the modern spread of Christian missions and of indigenous sects has been given at an earlier point (pages 81-2). At the present time, mainly through the far-flung activities of the Belgian fathers (Catholic), but in certain centres predominantly through the American Episcopal Mission (Protestant), and to some extent the United Brethren (Filipino Protestant), the term "non-Christian" has been rendered in fair degree a misnomer. Even the town of Bontoc, reputed heart of conservatism, is now said to have up to 75 per cent of its people either baptized or affiliated more or less with one or other of the two first-named missions.

While no fair comparison can be made between these and the heroic missions of Spanish times, struggling amid hostile peoples, the modern missions must be credited with displaying on the whole a tolerance, understanding, and tact in contrast to mission activities of earlier periods. Most of the missionaries are well educated men and women, of whom not a few have special qualifications for medical and educational work. The two major bodies have had among their numbers some distinguished scholars of the native

## *Missions and Health Authorities*

cultures. The sympathetic approach being made under such leadership gives great promise of success among a people like the mountaineers, who are essentially tolerant in their own religious attitudes.

It remains for mission historians to note the distribution of the mission institutions over the province and to record the persistence of their workers in the face of physical difficulties and cultural conservatism. Each has attacked the old religious order at essentially the same points—the *cañao* system with the beliefs there expressed, the “morals” of young people, and the marital customs of their elders; bodily exposure as related to these; and the disease and squalid conditions which are associated with the “lower” ideas and standards of living. All have supplemented doctrinal teaching with health work, schooling for the young people, and means for occupying leisure hours to pleasure and profit, even in some instances material assistance in the economic struggle—a sawmill for cutting house lumber, sections of land for settlement more or less outside the native towns, sewing-machines and craftwork for the women, and the like.

Undoubtedly some converts can be regarded as models of the faith, and wherever mission work has been continued for long the people in general have become gentler in disposition and more amenable to new influences and ideas such as those presented by the health and educational authorities. But this does not mean that the old religion is passing rapidly. Missionaries tell, and observations confirm the fact, that the great majority who profess Christianity follow with at least equal ardour the old beliefs and practices. “We are Christians,” remarked a mountaineer in all seriousness, “but our old customs have to be preserved.” How far this comes from lack of comprehension of the new—the mission workers are relatively few—how far the result of fears of the wrath on the part of ancestral deities, need

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

not be speculated upon. The fact remains that mission statistics do not necessarily measure the passing of old custom, particularly in the adult generation. True, in certain communities where mission work has been intensive and prolonged, there is clearly discernible a break now coming about, a strain between Christians and conservatives, a certain confusion or relaxation in the old lore and ritual that has its significance for understanding the future trend. Nevertheless such communities are yet very few even in Benguet and Lepanto, and the old still holds almost undisputed sway over practically all of Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao.

The mountaineer of to-day is faced, as other non-Christians, with the puzzle of weighing the claims of various religious systems. The major mission bodies have endeavoured not to overlap, through a tacit understanding as to their respective fields of work. But in the vicinity of the main centres there is an unavoidable duplication. The native, however, is exceedingly tolerant, and is willing to experiment with any new spiritual formula (so long as he may retain his own also) in the same frame of mind as he goes to this and that seer or old wise man to try the efficacy of their interpretations of the will of the deities. "Any religion," a mission father said, "can come in and immediately get a good following." Indeed, so enthusiastic are some to try out the new religious techniques that they rove between sects, even presenting themselves for baptism or membership in one while holding a similar allegiance to another. "Some," a mission worker remarked, "would get baptized every week if we would let them." It is another story, however, when an attempt is made to apply the new doctrines by requiring changes in some traditional practice.

A method used by the missions in the attempt to change the morals of youth in the areas where unmarried males and females sleep in special houses and trial mating is the

## *Missions and Health Authorities*

rule, has been to maintain supervised dormitories for boys and girls. This has been carried to a point where children at some mission boarding schools or dormitories are not allowed, except under special circumstances, to return to their communities, even during the vacation period; boys, it is felt, may be exposed to handicapping entanglements, girls may lack protection or succumb to custom, and as a result the mission efforts be wasted and their education come to an end. This system has by now put its mark upon some individuals, especially by enabling them to choose their mates from those of equal education in the higher schools or later in life. Some Christianized families, too, now keep their children at home instead of allowing them to go to the sleeping-houses. On the whole, however, the mission dormitory experiments have proved highly artificial in the few centres where tried, and show no very marked results in the relationships among youth. "My dormitories," said a missionary in a Lepanto village, "were popular in the days when I distributed free blankets; now I get some of the younger children, few of the big girls, and none of the big boys." A mission sister found in a girls' dormitory that as soon as the girls had reached what the mothers considered a near-marriageable age they were commanded by their parents to go to the sleeping-house of the community as it was time for them to "get boys."

Not much more success has attended the attempt to introduce church marriages, due to their binding nature in doctrinal terms. It is effective only among a scattering of individuals in a few centres, and even some of these are later a source of trouble to their spiritual fathers. The wearing of clothes on the upper body, especially by women, has now become widespread. Here, however, the desire of the missions to minimize nudity has been supplemented by climatic factors, a rising standard of living, and a development of self-consciousness in the normal process of contact

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

with non-mountaineers. In Bontoc, Ifugao, and Kalinga the women still use only the waist *tapis*, at least when working the fields, but around the main towns the majority show a sense of shame or bashfulness at being thus dressed in the presence of non-mountaineers. Meantime numbers of young people are adopting fully the western costume now customary among the urban Filipino. Such mission activities as the giving of medical treatment and economic assistance, or establishing club rooms with games for leisure hours, have been welcomed with some eagerness by converts. Church attendance is fairly regular. Such religious festivals as Christmas and Easter are times of heightened interest. A special adjustment has been made in Bontoc and some other centres whereby the churches have an early Sunday Mass for natives, to which they can come without self-consciousness in ordinary native dress; the Christian lowlanders, with their Sabbath clothing and black veils, do not appear until later services.

"One great principle of our mission," remarked a veteran Belgian father, "is never to forbid anything without giving something to take its place. We ask them to change rather than to do away with their feasts and customs." At the entrance gate to this father's church he has built a stone *ato* platform, so that the men can feel at home around the mission premises. This principle of substitution is one perhaps too easily forgotten by modern agencies of amelioration, especially by those who formulate government policies and laws. The older mountain life, for all its toil, had many high spots of festivity, pleasure, and exhilaration in the religious, social, and economic rounds, as for instance head-hunting, different types of *cañao* (sacrificial feast), or the merry fellowship of groups of young people at night. The first has been necessarily stopped. The second and third are being formally discouraged or attacked by the missions, and branded as immoral by the lowlanders. Should these

## *Missions and Health Authorities*

succeed in their purpose the mountain life is in danger of being disorganized, robbed of all its spice and verve, and finally reduced to a dead level of economic slavery, unless some really adequate substitutes are forthcoming. True, the problem is mainly of the future, for such customs do not show any indications of giving way easily, at least in most districts. Already, however, the attractions and excitements of Baguio and other centres are beginning to pull many young people away from their *barrios*. Government authorities, school-teachers, and missionaries would do well to keep this total situation always in view, especially where called upon to say "You must not."

## *Indigenous Religious Movements*

The existence of indigenous sects of a modern kind—the Aglipayan Church, *Guardia de Honor* and *Sapalada*—is of significance in mountain affairs in some respects greater than the work of missions from overseas. Emerging out of the events of 1896 to 1901 (page 81), they represent in a measure "escape movements" akin to many that have occurred in western religious history and on the world's frontiers. Led by individuals who have spoken with authority or adopted a prophet role, they have formed a psychological and organizational refuge from the pressures of alien religious and other domination; also a comprehensible doctrine and revelation amid the puzzles of conflicting beliefs and rituals presented by native tradition on the one hand and by complicated foreign religions and sectarian variations on the other.

Lepanto, in the throes at the time and since of the struggle between old and new, has proved the most fertile soil for such movements. Indeed the *Sapalada* faith is said to have arisen in Payeo village in the district of Besao, under the leadership of a Lepanto named Degan, though based on

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the Ilocano *Guardia de Honor*. A main doctrine was that the culture-hero Lumauig (page 56) would return in the near future and relieve the mountaineers from their burdens, then still heavy, at least in immediate memory, from Spanish times. An offshoot of this sect, called *Paluy*, has since emerged by way of a prophet named Angsiu of Data village in Lepanto.

At the time, these faiths secured little foothold in the neighbouring district of Bontoc except in *barrios* such as Sagada, that were nearest to Lepanto and most under Spanish influence. Nor did they penetrate far elsewhere in the mountain region, due either to inaccessibility or the firm hold of the old life and beliefs. Now, however, that pressure is being brought to bear at many points even in the most conservative areas by mission and government, conditions seem, in the writers' observation, quite ripe for similar religious movements to arise. If such occur, it remains to be seen whether the new "revelations" will be pacific in their outward forms, or whether the old rituals of head-taking will be invoked—as could quite easily be so in such an area as the Isneg-Ilocano fringe of Apayao or more isolated parts of Bontoc and Kalinga. Among a section of the Maori of New Zealand, at just such a stage of apparent assimilation through combined official and mission efforts, there blazed forth a prophet fire, and a religion in which old warfare and magic had a central place. This, getting out of hand in an isolated region, took many years to crush and a heavy toll in lives. Without adopting the role of seer, the point can be made that such a violent renaissance of the old ways variously combined with elements of the new is not beyond the bounds of possibility in the mountain region. Fortunately good communications and a trained constabulary force should enable the authorities to bring it immediately under control. But should some religious movement of a peaceful kind emerge, it may well receive



## *Missions and Health Authorities*

much more subtle treatment—undue pressure or a demonstration of force might lead to active resistance and hostility to the government that would leave its imprint in non-cooperation by the people concerned for a long time. Wisely treated and guided, it might through its leaders be made instead a constructive instrument for furthering the official purposes. A careful and sympathetic study of the Aglipayan and Colorum sects in the lowlands, and of the Tungud movement which swept a great part of Mindanao in 1908-10,<sup>1</sup> would have lessons in relation to such a possible development in the mountain province.

### *The Health Authorities at Work*

Considering their living conditions, the health and hardness of the mountain peoples, all authorities agree, is remarkable. To-day, as in past centuries, the severe experiences of infancy and childhood and the rugged conditions of life allow only the supremely fit to survive. The Bontoc and southern Kalinga peoples are of particularly magnificent physique.

Medical statistics to-day indicate that malaria (notably in the jungle regions) and ailments of the respiratory organs—acute bronchitis, broncho-pneumonia, and tuberculosis—easily predominate among the recorded diseases and are the major cause of death. Tuberculosis, however, is an illness new to the mountains, introduced through contact with lowlanders, while other respiratory troubles can be traced in measure to the improper use of clothing. Influenza and dysentery show a heavy incidence in some years. Typhoid and measles occur, but to a much smaller extent. Dysentery and typhoid have been especially marked in the mining region where there are congested living conditions.

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Garvin, *Ethnography of the Manobo Peoples*, Manila, 1912; Beyer Collection of Manuscripts, *The Manobo*, vol. ii, paper 1.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Diarrhoea and enteritis stand high in the list of regular ailments, and are a potent cause of infant mortality. Little recorded in medical statistics, but widely prevalent, are sores resulting from infected cuts and scratches; yaws; intestinal parasites, particularly among children; infections of the eyes and even blindness as a result of living in smoky houses; goitre; and in some localities a skin disease (*tinea imbricata*) peculiar to areas of the Mountain Province where pines do not grow.<sup>2</sup>

Sickness, in the belief of the mountaineer, is mainly a reflex from the spirit world: the work of some evil being or spell-caster; punishment for infringing a taboo; or even the result of a person's own spirit "going walking." As such it must be diagnosed by seers in touch with the *anitos*, and met by spiritual means: prayers, sacrifices, and rituals, including if necessary counter spells. These often involve a great slaughter of livestock, the spirits of which are thus sent to appease the deities. Natural death is likewise invariably attributed to spirit forces. The Isneg particularly, though he has scant agricultural ceremonies, wages by such means as these a constant battle with his jungle ailments. In most areas the *anitos* of sickness are approached, and placated through women seers or priestesses. According to the results of the diagnosing ceremony and the revelations received by the seer during her induced spell of *anito* possession or rapport, an appropriate *cañao* (ritual sacrifice) is arranged. Herbal potions and applications, also, are used for some of the more visible ills, such as skin troubles, which are usually not attributed to spiritual causes.

By early Spanish times experience had taught the mountain peoples that contact with lowlanders and foreigners was apt to introduce epidemic diseases. These they attributed mainly to the potency of alien magic. Taboos were

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Reports on Health* (typescript), also *Annual Reports of the Provincial Governor*.

## *Missions and Health Authorities*

applied, therefore, to families and communities where such sicknesses occurred to prevent the spread of the evil influences, this acting as an effective form of isolation. On the main trails leading down to the coastal regions, what amounted to a primitive form of quarantine was maintained, resulting sometimes in completely cutting off contact with the lowlands. But Spanish and Ilocano penetration broke down this system. Along with the traders, soldiers, and missionaries came devastating epidemics which swept the mountain population, causing great loss of life, and being in some measure a cause of the outbreaks against Spanish control. Certainly the experience of these plagues increased the exclusiveness and suspicion of the mountaineers towards outsiders.

Some responsibility for the physical well-being of their charges was accepted from very early times by the Spanish missions and government. Vaccination was started in an attempt to stem such epidemics, though only in much later times has this been widespread enough to be really effective. In early American days both officials and missionaries distributed medicines and sought to convince the mountaineers of the superiority of the western interpretation of medical and health matters. Hospitals were soon established in the main centres. Promising young people were sent to Manila for training as doctors and nurses, or were given courses in the provincial centres as *practicantes* (medical orderlies) and sanitary inspectors. Hygiene was introduced as a school subject. Especially from 1915 on, as in other aspects of the native life, a strenuous battle was waged between old and new.

The Mountain Province forms to-day a separate health district, with six sub-districts and twenty-three municipal health districts. Three excellent government hospitals are at work in Bontoc town, Kiangan, and Lubuagan; their work is supplemented by another at Baguio, which, however,

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

serves mainly the people of that city, and by an Episcopal mission;<sup>1</sup> hospital under an American doctor at Sagada, near Bontoc. There are also some thirty-seven government dispensaries at strategic points throughout the province, some in very isolated places, and in charge of native sanitary inspectors. The mission staffs of the various denominations do much medical work both independently and in co-operation with the regular health service, also the Red Cross maintains one male nurse, while constabulary officers, school-teachers, and even local civil officials supplement the work of the regular authorities in the outer areas. The district health officer, some of the sub-district health officers and doctors, practically all the nurses and all the lesser employees are now natives of the province—indeed a triumph of educational method.

The health workers, both secular and mission, have before them a double purpose. The less important yet unescapable duty is to promote welfare and alleviate distress in the present as far as possible, more especially as a considerable proportion of the modern physical troubles in the area are a direct result of the new conditions for which the mountain people are not responsible. But the essential work is felt to be the education of the mountaineer, particularly of the younger generation, in new health methods and ideas, and in the practice of more hygienic living as in matters of diet, child-care, sanitation, and the like. It is this health education in its conflict with the old customs and traditions that is the major interest for the study.

Standards of hygiene and personal cleanliness are indeed essentials in which the mountaineer must change if the ideal of assimilation to general Filipino life is to be achieved. Old practices embodying the wisdom of centuries of experience sufficed in days of simple living and isolation, but with higher standards and increasing contacts they are inadequate. So long as a native "looks as if he never washed

## *Missions and Health Authorities*

himself" and "wears filthy clothes" he will be looked down upon and despised by the Filipino of the plains as a primitive savage, no matter how really superior may be his bodily physique and the sanitation of his pine-fumigated, if soot-begrimed, home over those of many of his lowland brothers. All the efforts of school-teachers, missionaries, officials, and more advanced mountaineers themselves in this cause are fully justified: not merely in order to produce greater physical well-being, but because more hygienic habits are now essential to the self-confidence, pride, and peace of mind of the rising generation of mountain people. Already the phrase "I am ashamed," referring to clothing or houses in the presence of non-mountaineers, is too often heard these days. It would be unfortunate indeed if the proud warrior folk of the hills should be allowed to develop a settled feeling of inferiority on this and other scores.

Only too, by changing the whole attitude of mind towards sickness, by gradually prizing the concept of disease apart from religious beliefs and attaching it to natural causes and effects, can the mountain society be freed from the tyranny of fear that at times leads the poorer man to run himself into debt and perhaps mortgage future generations; the rich man to sacrifice all his work animals and part with his lands in an attempt to remedy physical ills by the old religious ceremonies. As an aid to recovery the *cañao* seems in the present helpful. It may perhaps long have its justifiable function in dealing with the mental side of disease. But as the sole method of meeting sicknesses it is obviously inadequate.

Recent years have seen a marked improvement in the health supervision of the mountain region. Epidemics have been brought under control through quarantine methods. Water supplies have been improved wherever possible; food-stuffs inspected in the markets; the construction of latrines and establishment of cemeteries encouraged; and

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

all the available means taken to educate the people in health matters. Beyond this, however, treatment is given only to those who are willing to call upon the authorities. Especially are the diseases, improper feeding, exposure, and other conditions responsible for an exceedingly high infant mortality as yet all but untouched. It would seem that here something might be effected by organizing village health committees among the women. This has been done in a number of other native regions with marked success, either through official schemes or through the initiative of educated native leaders. Such committees might utilize in the Mountain Province the services of school-teachers and ex-pupils as well as those of the regular health officials. Indeed some form of organized local cooperation on the part of the mountaineers themselves seems essential if real progress is to be made, particularly along educational lines. The impact on individual school-children of health instruction during the brief school period will otherwise be lost long before adulthood.

From 1918 to 1922 orders and ordinances were formulated to compel the mountain communities to bury their dead in cemeteries, and to adopt the use of latrines in the *barrios*.

The administrative code of 1917 (Section 1073 et seq.) had already prohibited burial in unauthorized places, and provided strict rules to cover the disposal of the dead. Some response was forthcoming from Benguet, where municipal cemeteries were formed, and from Apayao and Kalinga, where the *kaingin* people established "private" cemeteries. But in Bontoc, Ifugao, and Lepanto, even after years of pressure, no success whatever has been achieved in changing the old methods of disposal of the dead. "I must be buried," said an educated Lepanto man, "in the same sort of grave clothes and with the same ceremonies as my father and grandfather before me." Sometimes such

## *Missions and Health Authorities*

burials take place under or in the immediate neighbourhood of the house, especially in the case of infants, or else in caves, stone-lined chambers, or former granaries. The richer and more influential people may have coffins of wood, or even stone. Guinsadan, for instance, a *barrio* of Lepanto, has scattered among the houses and on the rocky ledges of the settlement the impressive stone coffins of its dead *baknangs*, and such individuals are buried in this way throughout Lepanto at the present day. The government has succeeded, however, in compelling burial within forty-eight hours (except perhaps in some isolated *barrios*), thus eliminating an extended process of smoking and tending the body, particularly in the case of important people. Yet the old-time death ceremonies lasting sometimes for many days after burial are still kept up. In these areas only the Christianized natives (and by no means all of these) are buried in the cemeteries maintained by the missions.

In spite of much building activity under government auspices, and of threatened fines and imprisonments, practically no progress whatever attended the attempt to introduce latrines by legislative means. Bontoc, especially, where the pig-pen system is an important link in the taut economic chain, rose up in arms. Other than at schools and in public buildings, such structures so far as they remain stand as tombstones to the use of force in such aspects of cultural change.

Nevertheless education and experience are slowly having their effects. Mountaineers are beginning to turn to the hospitals increasingly for medical treatment, particularly where members of their own community are on the health staff and so bring their influence to bear. True, the native who is willing to try the new techniques almost invariably makes himself doubly secure by performing in addition the *cañao* ceremonies demanded by old custom. Hospital authorities, as a rule, allow relatives to come and pray over

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

their patients should they so desire—the mental effects of such beliefs, they say, can certainly do no harm and may do much good, pending the growth of a more thorough faith in the foreign medical ideas. Unfortunately, however, the old and the new do not always fit in so excellently. Families may want to remove patients against the doctor's advice because of omens or the word of an old woman who resents this trespassing on her prerogatives. Moreover the hospital is generally the place of last resort for the ailing, who are brought only when several *cañaos* have failed to produce the desired result and when the illness may be too far advanced to be amenable to any medical treatment. In earlier days, and among the more conservative people still, the hospital has been shunned from fear of the ghosts of those who have succumbed there.

Difficulties of transportation and shortage of medicines are constant limitations to the work of the health service in outer districts. The health problem of the mountaineer is also tending to enlarge constantly, due to such factors as the introduction of new diseases from outside, notably tuberculosis, and the increasing use of clothes which are allowed to get wet or dirty and are put on and off indiscriminately. An especially important task of the future is the conquest of malaria both for the better health of the jungle peoples and as a means of facilitating settlement over the vast foothill region. This work is greatly handicapped by lack of money. The late governor of the Mountain Province, Mr. J. C. Early, urged that the Philippine government should seek to enlist the help of the Rockefeller Foundation in studying the problem and supplying adequate medicines—indeed an excellent suggestion.

In conclusion, it may be said that the health situation is one of the most obvious of many challenges to the initiative, spirit of service, and local patriotism of the more advanced and educated mountaineers, quite apart from



## *Missions and Health Authorities*

those who take up medical work as a profession. There is no more practical way in which they could stimulate progress along essential modern lines than in organizing or inspiring cooperation with the health service. Marked results will only be forthcoming gradually. Conservatism is bulwarked by age-old fear, also by ignorance and indifference—elements that likewise have made medical and sanitary work throughout the Philippine lowlands, even in the large cities, exceedingly slow and difficult. With certain adjustments in personal and community living, however, and a knowledge of the hygiene of clothing, there is no reason why the mountain peoples in their cool and bracing climate should not be the healthiest as they are now probably the physically strongest section of the Philippine population.

## CHAPTER IX

### THROUGH THE SCHOOL DOOR

Boys and girls in the mountain communities, as among practically all "uncivilized" peoples, acquired the traditional modes of thought and conduct more or less informally from their elders. There was little institutionalized instruction. But in modern times the small, scantily clad mountain children have been taken in ever-increasing numbers from their work tasks and play around the settlements to be deposited by parents—willingly, or under the watchful eye of the constabulary—at the doors of those hot-house devices of civilization, the schools.

#### *The Establishment of Schools*

Credit must be given to the Spaniards for their good intentions in setting up schools under both mission and government auspices wherever the mountain peoples were sufficiently pacified. Military commandants won praise for "enhancing primary instruction" and building schools. A normal school financed by the government was established in Cervantes, to which two or three boys from each settlement were "compelled to go." In numbers of districts the secretary-treasurers (page 68) were given the additional task of instructing the children within their jurisdiction.

Yet the effects upon the non-Christian, apart from the few missionized families, were anything but marked. The association of the schools both with religious conversion and with the agents who exacted tribute, made them an object of suspicion and dislike. The school was regarded as "a weight that the government imposes," not as a benefit. Nevertheless the Spanish period witnessed a most

## *Through the School Door*

remarkable experiment in voluntary "schooling." Under conditions of increasing contact between mountain groups and the Ilocos people on the coast, and also among the mountaineers themselves, a common tongue was being found necessary to supplement the numerous local dialects. The Ilocano speech was progressively adopted to fill this need, and by the end of the Spanish regime it had become the almost universal *lingua franca* of the mountains. Some communities even supported Ilocano families in order to learn from them the new ways and ideas.

The American authorities labelled the efforts of their predecessors to work through lowland teachers in the villages all but useless. As in the rest of the Philippines, an education was proposed along western, particularly American, lines. Objectives for the first non-Christian schooling were set out by the director of the original Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes as follows :

"First, the teaching of English to the child, with reading and writing. This primarily that we may understand him and he us . . . and in order that in general society may be liberalized and the ordinary man, who in Malayan communities is in a state of subjection, may be freed and elevated. The second object . . . should be of an exceedingly practical character—and in each case it should be planned to meet the needs of the tribe."<sup>1</sup>

Making citizens, not as in earlier years Christians, was to be the keynote of education. As among the American Indians, school organization took the form of concentration boarding schools under American teachers, to which pupils were brought for instruction in both academic subjects and the manual arts. Five such institutions were established—in Baguio, Cervantes, Lagangilang (Abra), Bua, and Bontoc, the two last being for girls.

Some of the more advanced communities in Benguet and Lepanto, especially where lowlanders had settled, were

<sup>1</sup> Barrows, in the *Taft Commission Report*, 1900, p. 684.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

soon pressing the authorities for village schools. At the same time the boarding schools were not proving an unqualified success. The mountaineers disliked their children leaving home, especially to go to schools like the Cervantes institution, in what was then a bad malarial region. The pupils ran away, and attendances could be maintained only under compulsion. It was found, too, that children were being seriously maladjusted to conditions in their home villages. In 1907, therefore, the authorities declared a new policy by which "as fast as Igorot boys can be trained as teachers village schools will be opened."<sup>2</sup>

In that year eleven such schools were started in Benguet, five in Amburayan, and thirteen in Lepanto and Bontoc. Seven of the teachers were mountaineers, the rest lowlanders. From these beginnings the present system of elementary village schooling for the whole province was evolved. At the same time three of the concentration schools were converted into higher schools in which the services of American teachers were retained. A further high school with a strong agricultural and industrial bias was founded at La Trinidad in Benguet, to which came many of the boys and girls graduating from elementary schools. This institution has been primarily responsible for producing the modern native leadership, and has indeed exercised a profound educational influence upon the mountain life. The government school system was further supplemented by elementary and high schools established in certain centres by the mission bodies, usually distributed so as not to produce undue overlapping.

The attitude of the mountaineer toward schooling has had several distinct phases. Except in conservative places like Bontoc, where Spanish methods had put up a barrier of hostility or indifference, American enthusiasm met

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, vol. 2, p. 828.

## *Through the School Door*

with a first willing response. Many *barrios* supplied free labour and materials for their school-houses, and even volunteered to pay the salary of a teacher. Such eagerness appears to have been due in some parts of Lepanto and Benguet to a desire to be able to meet the superior Ilocano on their own grounds, and so to oust them from government positions, particularly the municipal treasurerships in the native settlements; it was also hoped that educated youths could earn money easily. A *barrio* without a school likewise felt itself surpassed by those of its neighbours who had acquired one, and clamoured for recognition.

Yet, after the first few years, this eagerness began everywhere to wane. The stamp of the superior culture was found to be less readily acquired than had been hoped, or the mere possession of a school gave the necessary prestige and satisfied the light-rooted desire for progress; the few local leaders wanted were trained; and among the older generation an uneasiness began to stir concerning innovations made by the schooled youngsters, also their attitude toward their elders and the ancient traditions. Opposition to schooling for girls was especially marked, as this interfered with, or tended to wean them from, their agricultural work, besides seeming quite purposeless to the native mind. In some areas the children themselves refused to go to school, and the idea of coercion is repugnant to the mountain parent.

A long period ensued during which each entrenchment of the new education was barely won and with difficulty kept—marked by a constant pressure on the part of school authorities and government officials to keep up falling attendances, where necessary the constabulary being called in, or penalties imposed upon the parents.<sup>3</sup> In some

<sup>3</sup> The enforcement of compulsory attendance for all children between the ages of 7 and 13 and living within three kilometres of a school, though practised since 1919 at the discretion of the

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

instances school-houses were burnt, even several times over.

At last, very slowly, and only in a few progressive areas and among a few families, the school has begun to achieve a place as an approved and essential institution for the training of youth.

Benguet and Lepanto led the way in this cycle, and only within them has it neared completion. Bontoc and Ifugao are still well in the slump period so far as they have responded at all. Kalinga and Apayao, where only very recently conditions have been such as to make schooling possible, and in an era of well-trained teachers, also with no unfortunate experiences of the past to hinder, show yet for the most part a fresh eagerness for the new education. Even in these areas, however, a major reason given by the authorities to account for the movement of groups of the *kaingin* people into Isabela or Ilocos Norte (pages 87, 92) has been the application of the compulsory school attendance law to the children.

No clearer demonstration of the truth of these facts can be found than in an analysis of school attendances in the various parts of the province to-day. According to statistics for 1932, the school district of Balbalan in Kalinga leads with 98 out of every 100 children of school age in attendance; Lubuagan in Kalinga comes next with 91. Banaue, in the more isolated and recently opened portion of Ifugao, comes third with 90, in great contrast to Kiangan in eastern Ifugao, long a centre of mission and government work, which has only 53. Apayao has 87, in spite of the

authorities, has apparently no secure legal sanction in the Mountain Province. It was based originally on Sections 7, 8, 9, chapter 2, of the code of Mindanao and Sulu (Provincial Circular No. 9, 1919); but an opinion of the Attorney-General in 1919 declared that these provisions were not applicable to the Mountain Province or Nueva Vizcaya. G. Arenata, in *The Administrative Code of 1927, with Comments and Annotations* (Manila, 1929), throws into doubt, however, the legality of this opinion (vol. iv, p. 3281).

## *Through the School Door*

scattered nature of its population. Baguio in Benguet is recorded as having 88, but this is an entirely artificial figure as it includes all the urban and non-native population; a better perspective of the comparative position in Benguet is obtained by looking at its other school districts, Kapangan with 58, and Kabayan with only 34, the lowest attendance of all. The most progressive school district in the modern sense, Kayan in Lepanto, has 82, which may be contrasted with that for its conservative neighbour Bontoc, 52.

The enrolment of girls by school districts, another fair measure of school popularity and success, has a somewhat similar rating. In all 31 out of every 100 pupils in the province are girls. Balbalan (Kalinga) shows the highest proportion, 43; Apayao has 40; Lubuagan 35; Banaue and Kiangnan 30 and 23; Kayan in Lepanto 29; Bontoc 28; Baguio 37; Kapangan and Kabayan in the rest of Benguet only 17 and 16 respectively.

## *Modern School Organization*

The Mountain Province is now divided for educational purposes into ten school districts, each under a supervising teacher, and the whole under a division superintendent of schools with headquarters at Baguio.

In formal terms, the provincial board has the ultimate control over the school system. In actual practice, however, the division superintendent, as agent of the department of education in Manila, defines policies, decides on the location of schools, and appoints the teachers. Funds for salaries and maintenance come in part from some of the organized provincial districts and from provincial funds, but mainly from insular subsidies.

In 1932 there were 245 institutions at work under government auspices as against 161 ten years earlier. The total

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

enrolment in that time had increased from 14,736 to 18,836 pupils, or 73.8 per cent of the total estimated school population. Of the remainder perhaps up to 10 per cent are in mission schools. Naturally the mountain schools are attended by the children of non-natives, so that these are included in all figures given. Somewhat over 1 per cent of pupils to-day are in this class, found mainly around Baguio, Bontoc, and like centres, and in the Ilocano portion of Apayao.

The government staff was enlarged, in the ten years, from 364 teachers to 454, of whom 143 are mountaineers—133 in the village schools and 10 in higher positions. There are still five Americans in the mountain teaching service, and the remainder are lowland Filipinos.

In 1932 there were 136 regular primary schools and 14 "settlement farm" primary schools under official auspices, all teaching to the third grade; 78 of the former and all of the latter had intermediate classes taking pupils to the seventh grade. The missions also were conducting primary schools in several villages not touched by the government system. One academic high school exists in Baguio under official auspices, the Mountain High School, though this is now monopolized by lowland pupils rather than by mountaineers. There are also several mission high schools in Baguio. La Trinidad Agricultural School continues to be the main centre of native higher education, having in the year mentioned an enrolment of 570 boys and 216 girls.<sup>4</sup> There is a small rural agricultural high school in Kabugao, Apayao. A number of pupils also go to the Lagangilang Agricultural High School in Abra, though this is patronized mainly by Tinggians. Both of

<sup>4</sup> In 1932 the normal department for training teachers was transferred from the Mountain High School to La Trinidad. The grade system here referred to is based on the American system, where primary schooling extends from the first to the eighth grade.



## *Through the School Door*

these are government institutions. The Belgian mission has high schools in Bontoc and Lubuagan (Kalinga), with mission sisters in charge; the Episcopalians have similar schools in Sagada (Bontoc) and Balbalasan (Kalinga), and the United Brethren have academies in Lubuagan (Kalinga) and Kiangnan (Ifugao), all under the supervision of Americans, though not teaching to such a high grade as La Trinidad. Every year the government, through the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, allots a number of scholarships to enable the most promising pupils to go out to other institutions for more specialized training: mainly to Muñoz Agricultural School, to Los Baños, the agricultural department of the University of the Philippines, and to the other departments of the last-named institution. This is regarded as an important phase of the policy of training leaders and preparing the non-Christians for assimilation. In some years as many as thirty-eight such *pensionados* (scholars) have been appointed from the non-Christian provinces, a good proportion of whom have been from the mountain region.

The provincial authorities have repeatedly urged that a government high school be founded more centrally in the province. Going to the Baguio schools, it is said, costs parents a considerable amount (even though actual board and tuition is free for mountaineers), so that some pupils have to drop out and poor children cannot go at all. Also, in the opinion of many, these schools have nowadays an unduly disturbing influence on the young people both because of their nearness to Baguio and the mines, and due to the unsuitability of much of the agricultural teaching for the more northern and isolated areas to which the pupils must usually return. In the meantime local higher education in the sub-provinces other than Benguet and Apayao is entirely in the hands of mission institutions. These, together with the mission high schools at Baguio,

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

and the elementary schools through the province, have their work recognized by the government as meeting official scholastic requirements. They are inspected periodically by agents of a special officer in the Central Bureau of Education known as the commissioner of private education, who determines the status of all such institutions in the archipelago.

School attendance, other than in Kalinga and Apayao, where the official word prevails so strongly, is now largely determined by the progress of general mission work. In such a conservative area as Bontoc it is the families under mission influence who are keenest to allow their children to attend the schools, whether government or mission. Incidentally, in Bontoc town itself, some of the children from the poorest families are now getting an education under rather strange circumstances. Pressure on the rice-bin is so great that some families relieve their burden by handing children over to the mission dormitories in this centre, where they are fed and maintained. Sent to school, some of these children have gone to the top of the educational ladder, and are now prominent in the government service. In the ordinary way, however, it is only the children of the richer families who can afford to receive higher schooling.

At the present time the great majority of elementary and intermediate schools are classed as "regular" rather than as "settlement farm" schools, giving a predominantly academic course, and requiring the children to live at home. This represents a reversal of earlier policy. By 1927 it had been felt necessary to give the mountain education a more agricultural and vocational bias. Almost half the elementary schools and two-thirds of the intermediate schools were therefore converted into "settlement farm" schools. By this system the children spent a large proportion of their time working on the school lands, under

## *Through the School Door*

direction of the teachers. In some instances they produced sufficient foodstuffs for their full subsistence. In 1931-32, however, the school authorities came to the conclusion that such schools were not proving so successful as was hoped, particularly due to the lack of sufficient lands for the purpose in the more crowded areas. In the latter year the older system was reintroduced, except in fourteen school centres where the scattered nature of the population made some scheme for concentrating and subsisting the children essential.

That this almost total abandonment of the experiment was, in some areas, too drastic a remedy for its defects seems indicated by a number of protests, especially that of the deputy-governor of Apayao. In his annual report for 1932 he declared that the reversion to the more academic education for the jungle folk under his jurisdiction was "a fatal mistake, destroying the foundation of education laid out in previous years." Particularly, he felt, it withdrew the stimulus to learn better methods of farming than the *kaingin* system, which would prepare the non-Christians to participate in the development of the agricultural resources in which lie the "only hope of Apayao."

The teaching service in the government schools is on the whole excellent when measured against the needs of the locality. The teacher in the village school is far more than a pedagogue: he is an agent of the government and a community welfare officer, where necessary helping the native councillors, advising the people, and exercising in general an important influence. He looks after the comfort of travellers, official or otherwise, and may be called upon to give medical assistance. In many instances the schools are in isolated places, sometimes deep in the malarial forests, and the teacher's life, particularly if he is a lowlander, is one of lonely pioneering. Practically all lowland teachers in the mountain service are drawn from the Ilocos

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

provinces and Pangasinan, and by the use of the Ilocano dialect they can communicate easily with the people. In the experience of the writers numbers of them are remarkable men and women: zealous in their work, enthusiastic in seeking to stimulate a wider consciousness of being Filipino among the mountain children, yet having patience, gentleness, adaptability, and an appreciation of the native viewpoint. The Filipino teacher has ways and standards of living much nearer to those of the mountaineer than would a western teacher under similar circumstances, less show of "racial pedestalism" in dealing with the native, and likenesses of speech, culture, and temperament that make for sympathy and for successful work.

From the first a policy has been adopted of giving preference in this service to mountaineers, as fast as they could be suitably trained. Particularly from 1927 to 1929 large numbers, mainly graduates from La Trinidad, were placed in positions formerly held by lowlanders; by then the whole personnel in Benguet and Kalinga from the supervisor to the teachers in the *barrios* were natives, though not necessarily of the immediate district in which their schools were situated. By 1929, however, it was found that some of these mountaineers were insufficiently trained in the art of teaching or did not sustain their responsibilities. Hence the policy was modified by once more introducing a body of lowlanders. This has raised the standards of the teaching service. Yet it has thrown back on native communities a number of young people who are naturally discontented with the official action. The position has been aggravated by a recent rule of the Bureau of Education in Manila requiring all teachers to have normal school training and qualifications. Such a policy automatically disqualifies the great number of La Trinidad or Lagangilang graduates who have looked forward to entering or have already entered the teaching profession.

## *Through the School Door*

In Apayao, for instance, some twelve young people just home from school with such expectations have been refused employment in the school service through no fault of their own—the mountain school system did not afford them a chance to qualify.<sup>5</sup> They are proving an embarrassment to officials, who cannot fit them into the government service anywhere else. Their parents, who are influential people, are annoyed at having spent so much money for nothing, and their disillusionment is likely to cause a loss of interest in schooling among the people as a whole. Such young people tend to be misfits and to nurse ill-feeling against the government and lowlanders generally. The position will doubtless be improved, at least temporarily, as a result of the transfer in 1932 of the normal department of the Mountain Province High School to La Trinidad, thus enabling future graduates to have the necessary qualifications. In the case of present graduates, however, it would seem fairer to make merit and capacity rather than standard normal qualifications the test of employment. La Trinidad graduates should be especially suitable throughout most of Apayao and much of Kalinga, where academic subjects can well be reduced in favour of practical farm training, and in all the settlement farm schools, as well as in the role of agricultural instructors.

An excellent feature of school activities in the area is the encouragement of games and of sports events. Volley ball or adaptations of this, kite-flying, field sports and the like are now indulged in enthusiastically by the children. Each school district customarily holds an annual "Garden Day," bringing together the best pupils from the *barrios* in athletic, academic, and agricultural or industrial competi-

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report of the Deputy-Governor of Apayao, 1932*; this also points out that Apayao pupils are inevitably excluded from the normal course, as they are deficient in certain subjects not fully taught at the Kabugao rural high school.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

tions. Shouts of warriors in mortal combat are replaced by school cheers and songs; banners and megaphones are wielded instead of shields and head-axes. Parents share to quite an extent in the interest and excitement. Undoubtedly the results of such extra-school activities upon the younger generation are profound, and full of promise as developing a sense of wider identity and a friendly spirit, or at least the transmutation of rivalry and enmity into more civilized forms.

### *The Results of Schooling*

The fundamental aim of all these schools, as expressed in a circular of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (No. 6, 1920), is to bring the non-Christians "up to the plane of culture of the rest of the Filipino people." This has been given greater definiteness in a number of declarations of policy: to rouse a wider civic consciousness so as to produce greater national solidarity in relation to the Filipinos as a whole; to prepare individuals for leadership; to adapt school work to the local needs and vocational opportunities; to teach the English language (this, however, an American rather than a unanimous Filipino principle); to stimulate the desire for higher standards of living.<sup>6</sup>

Measured in terms of practice and results, these clear-cut aims seem to lapse at some points into conflicts that approach confusion. On the one hand attempts are planned to utilize valuable elements in the old cultures and keep close to the realistic facts of the mountain life, on the other there are moves that inevitably cause or encourage a turning away from and despising of the old. Some rules are laid down the virtue of which under mountain conditions lies in the breaking. A desire to produce leaders is coupled with fears that they may express their leadership in separa-

<sup>6</sup> See particularly a *Report on Education*, by a Joint Legislative Committee, Manila, 1926, pp. 72-75.

## *Through the School Door*

tism or enthusiasm for things mountain as over against things lowland. Individualism and "getting on" is held up as the measure of success; but resulting jealousies and rivalries, lack of idealism, selfishness, and exploitation are deplored. Those trained in agriculture are urged to go back on the land; yet conditions in the province, and the standards and ideas in which they have been trained, are such that they look elsewhere for a career. Much is talked of Mountain Province development, though policies are followed the logical end of which might well mean its progressive depopulation. Such a confusion in the educational process is by no means peculiar to the region or to the Philippines. Nevertheless it is important to analyse it in its local setting.

As a general rule elementary teaching to the third grade in the village schools does not involve the conflicts here summarized. There is little maladjustment of the children from ordinary life. School attendance prolongs the period of childhood, especially for the girls, who would otherwise be already caught in the economic machine. The stimulus of contact with the teachers and subjects makes for a greater mental alertness and elasticity, causing the young people to be less set and stodgy than those who have not been to school at all. The adult individual should therefore be a little more receptive, tractable, gentle, and broadened in outlook. One vital question does arise, however, in the primary schools, namely that of grappling with linguistic diversity: a puzzle of the Philippines as a whole, yet especially prominent in the mountain region.

A study of the dialects shows that they have come in varying degrees under the influence of neighbouring lowland types of speech during modern times, predominantly of the Ilocano, the *lingua franca*, but to some extent in the case of those on the Cagayan side, of the Ibanag, Itavi, and other tongues, and with the Ibaloi dialect, of

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Pangasinan. Through these, or else directly, a number of Spanish words have likewise been adopted. Now American educational requirements, written into the Philippine constitution itself, insist that English shall be the medium of instruction in the schools.

The mountain people, like the great number of Filipinos, are therefore becoming multi-lingual. The local dialects still serve for all intercourse in the community. They are preserved tenaciously through association with customs, religion, the family, and the locality. To a small extent, too, neighbouring groups now brought together are coming to know one another's dialects. Yet Ilocano is essential for wider contact; Tagalog and Visayan, however, the other great media of wider intercourse in the Philippines, have penetrated little in the mountains, and the same can be said of Spanish, the language of the earlier intelligentsia. For official usage, school instruction, mission contact, and for communication in the case of those lowlanders who do not know the Ilocano, a Filipinized form of English is the current coin—punctuated as necessary with explanations or elaborations in one of the other tongues. Truly the Filipinos are being moulded by circumstances into a nation of linguists.

The problem cannot be discussed here in its meaning for the achievement of Filipino unity and nationality, but must be confined to the viewpoint of the mountain school-teacher struggling to give his wild or timid boys and girls some knowledge of a more widely useful language than the local dialect, and a comprehension of what he is talking about through that medium. If he were to obey the letter of the law and speak entirely in English—a doubtful possibility in view of the limitations of current Filipino English even among teachers—he would be met by blank faces and fading interest. True, he has an elaborate set of text-books in that language written for all grades. These, in a number of instances, are excellent



## *Through the School Door*

works by Filipino educational leaders, and well suited for use in most lowland schools. They have the weakness, however, in the writers' judgment and that of many leading teachers, of being far too advanced and remote from the experience of the mountain children. Where many educational services among native peoples make allowances for this by giving special training to the teachers and permitting them a wide range of local liberty, sometimes also by having special text-books and much simplified curricula, the mountain teacher must adapt his formal scheme of work as best possible to the realities, often in the face of disapproval from authorities higher up. Some teachers have accumulated much practical experience in such adaptation. A keen and sympathetic supervising teacher in a district can likewise do much to organize and inspire both method and subject-matter among his subordinates. But, in the ordinary instance, heavy demands are made on the teacher if such adaptation is not to lapse into mere inefficiency, time-service, and school disorganization, with little if any benefit accruing to the children. All have to make language adjustments to some extent in order to reach the minds of pupils, usually employing the Ilocano, combined, wherever they are known to the teacher, with the local dialects.

As in many other native areas, it is questionable whether the ordinary child of the isolated mountain *barrio* should at this stage be called upon to use English at all in the primary grades. It is remote from daily life; any that will be required later can be picked up under the stimulus of real need; and for subjects where information is to be passed to the native mind, as in hygiene or civics, both teacher and pupil would benefit if the use of the *lingua franca* were authorized as the teaching medium. After all, language is a means, not an end, and an ignorant man stumbling in English is certainly less educated than an

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

intelligent and informed man who knows a widely spoken Philippine dialect.

On the other hand, in schools accessible to lines of communication or in the centres, English can well be introduced from the first. But even then it should perhaps be only a subject rather than the teaching medium in the elementary grades. In time one or more schools of this advanced type might be established in every municipal district, each under a special teacher, if possible with dormitory accommodation for pupils from a distance; these would serve as feeders to the higher institutions. More progressive families could send their children to such English-teaching schools, while a mobile system of grading and coaching would enable ambitious pupils who transferred at an advanced stage from the other schools to make up their retardation quickly. In schools of this kind academic progress could be made much more effectively than under the present system, without efforts being thrown away on pupils for whom such teaching is almost valueless.

Throughout the higher schools, however, English should undoubtedly be taught as an essential to all. Even if for the mass of Filipinos the language may remain for long in somewhat the same position as Latin in Medieval Europe, the educated Filipino finds its mastery increasingly essential. At least much English terminology and idiom will be incorporated into the evolving Filipino speech of the future, as was Spanish in earlier days within the local dialects. Moreover the familiarity with two of the great languages of the outer world is a national heritage well worth cherishing and developing to the utmost.

In the elementary village schooling there is need likewise for a close scrutiny of the academic subject-matter of the text-books and curricula. On the one hand, it seems certain that for several generations at least the ordinary village pupil will lose within a few years after leaving school

## *Through the School Door*

whatever literacy he attains in his three grades of grappling with standard subjects and texts in a foreign tongue, while the ideas he gets in this way are not very meaningful or realistic. *Barrio* life gives few opportunities for practising reading or writing, and there is always a scribe in the form of an official to call upon in time of need. On the other hand there is an urgent need for practical knowledge in such matters as health rules, infant care (babies are, and will long continue to be, entrusted mainly to the small girls and boys of the community), and the simple calculations and business dealings that occur increasingly in the mountain life. Similarly there is need for widening the minds of youth as regards the Philippines as a whole, particularly their civic and community responsibilities, and of spreading the new maxims and ideas relating to ethics, justice, and relations with neighbours. The solution in the interests of educational efficiency and economy of effort seems to lie in making the teaching to the third grade in all isolated primary schools mainly oral, using Ilocano or the local dialect, aided as far as is feasible by pictures, models, charts, practical work, and demonstrations. If literacy at this stage is felt to be worth struggling for, the advisability of preparing some simple and well-illustrated text-books in Ilocano for special use in the *barrio* schools of the region might be explored. Indeed it would seemingly not be difficult to prepare such elementary texts in all three of the major dialect media, Ilocano, Tagalog, and Visayan, for use in the first grades of Philippine *barrio* schools in the areas where they are respectively the common coin of wider communication. There might also be a place in the village school curricula of the mountain districts for teaching and practising some of the local arts and crafts, and for hearing and telling local lore and history. These might help to offset any tendency of pupils in the face of so much that is new to turn too radically

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

from the old—a very serious matter for those whose understanding of the new is at best so shallow, and who must in any case find their careers in their own conservatively minded communities.

In connection with primary schooling, the further question may be raised as to how far school attendance should be enforced in areas where the people are unwilling. It is true that only through training can the mountain communities become competent in the wider civic sense and progressively more able to protect themselves against exploitation by outsiders or by educated members of their own groups; also that only a full use of the school facilities available can justify the expense to the government of their maintenance. Yet the results of compulsory schooling in either Spanish or modern times have not been particularly satisfactory. No doubt a certain control is constantly necessary to keep up lagging attendances even where the school has become a vital community institution. The problem is rather one of more remote and conservative communities, particularly among the *kaingin* folk whose children have to be taken from their homes to live under rather artificial conditions in central settlement schools. It also arises strongly concerning any school work beyond the third grade, and above all in the matter of education for girls particularly beyond this standard. Besides arousing resentment among parents, such enforced schooling may tend to unfit the children for the life which at least by far the greater majority must lead. An apt if extreme illustration of this may be culled from a short poem by a leading Philippine educator, dealing with the modern experience of a Negrito:

“They wanted us to go to school  
And to turn the pages of books . . .  
Why learn the language of books  
When the forest speaks to you?

## *Through the School Door*

One cannot eat books,  
And pens and pencils are poor weapons  
To kill the deer of the mountains  
And the grunting boar.  
Books, pencils, and the black  
Speaking walls  
Only weaken the hand that pulls the bow;  
Had I read the language  
Of the trail more  
And of the talking leaves less,  
The twang of my bow  
Would not have been  
Only an echo in the thickets,  
And I—  
But a ghost in the forests  
Of my fathers.”<sup>7</sup>

In the Mountain Province, as elsewhere in the Philippines, this problem is to some extent met by the fact that educational resources are insufficient to allow of universal schooling, and it is the more remote and conservative districts that are left alone or poorly provided for. To this extent the discussion lapses into theory. Yet there are to-day fringe communities and families where the matter is acute, and needs study by educationalists.

It will be found, for instance, that conflict and maladjustment are occasioned by the clash between rigid school schedules and schemes of work, and the demands which the mountain system of agriculture makes upon the children, particularly the girls of the family. In Bontoc the number of girls who go to school from their own homes as apart from the mission dormitories is almost nil; they are too important a cog in the economic machine. Everywhere in the province the girls are needed at transplanting time, and both boys and girls when harvest time approaches. A less stereotyped educational scheme might well recognize these family agricultural tasks as real “school” activities,

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Gilbert Perez in *The Leader*, Manila, November 1932.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

at least equally much a vocational training as working in the school gardens and workshops. Participation in them might therefore be recognized and encouraged as part of the school programme rather than registered merely with absentee marks as limiting educational progress.

Local adaptations along such lines as have been suggested here, however greeted by disciples of orthodoxy, might bring the mountain village school and home so much closer together as to lessen the frictions that exist. Here as in many educational matters the choice lies between the easy way of standardization in the curricula and in the training of the teaching staff on the one hand, and a real educational process for the child and the community on the other.

"For me," said a missionary with almost a lifetime of experience among the mountain people, "it is sufficient for the great majority of children to finish the third grade and then stop. Beyond that we should certainly never force them. They have reached the age for work. Any that continue further inevitably break the connection with their community life. The desire for work is sapped, even if they are not actually going to school to avoid work." Many teachers assert, too, that where children are carried beyond the third grade it is only the exceptional child who is able to make satisfactory progress, at least in communities other than the main centres. For most, the text-books and work schemes of the intermediate grades are highly artificial. They leave the children, so to speak, "suspended on a pole over vacancy," unless they are going to carry on to the central high schools, in which case such instruction becomes meaningful as a preparation.

Experience shows that numbers of these intermediate graduates do not want to go to the fields, tend to patronize their elders, and treat old ways that have proved their value in the mountain life with indifference or contempt, loaf

## *Through the School Door*

around their villages or the central towns, either waiting for a salaried job or else superior to work altogether, and bring schooling in general into disrepute. They have gained nothing worthwhile from the modern culture, and lost much that is valuable from the ancient ways. This is an old educational story, of course, in such situations of group transition. But while it is heartily deplored by the officials and missionaries, it seems that they inevitably put an unfortunate moral valuation on the opposite process—fitting back into the native community—by calling it a “reversion,” and making it seem shameful or wrong. A recent annual report of the province, for instance, says:

“One of our chief problems in education of natives is the providing of employment for them when they leave school. Many of them have no other means than to revert after leaving school.”

Yet for boys and girls to be turned from the old life in any great numbers would mean a corresponding dislocation of the old agriculture. Only the reverted pupil can fit comfortably and usefully into the age-old economic scheme. Unless vast markets at present nowhere in sight are to open up for commercial products, or jobs are forthcoming in the lowlands, the mountain people cannot subsist apart from this exacting cultivation. Emphasis on points in which the native life may be improved and new opportunities made use of are justifiable, so long as they are constructive and practicable under the existing economic conditions. But any ideal or emotion, either open or tacit, which tends to turn such youth from the community setting is highly dangerous, and indeed of no benefit, if not actually a cruelty to the individuals concerned.

“Those, however, who have reached the higher grades,” the report continues, “do not, except in rare instances, revert. They either find means to continue their studies, take up some vocation, or leave the country.” Is this, in

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

the light of the above, to be considered a virtue when displayed as at present by ever-increasing numbers of the mountain youth? In dealing with both politics and economics in the Mountain Province it was made clear that the number of openings available for young people outside the circle of the mountain life is strictly limited by local conditions, and that the point of saturation is well in sight. Indeed, the actual roll numbers in the higher schools to-day exceed considerably the total number of lowlanders employed in the entire administrative service of the area. Where, then, are the graduates of the years ahead to find a place? What will happen to them as the doors of opportunity through which they hope, and are being prepared, to enter are more or less closed?

Here the real educational conflicts and problems lie, acute enough throughout the Philippines, but a matter of very existence to the mountaineers. The trend among the Filipino people toward the cities and away from the land, the economic maladjustments resulting from "white collar" ideals, competitive individualism and a belief in the degrading nature of physical labour, the cultivation of habits and tastes above means—these emerging in part from the Filipino interpretation of American standards, in part from the influences of *caciquism* in the Philippines itself—are exaggerated by the urge to break away from the exacting labour of mountain life.

The founders of La Trinidad Agricultural School had hopes that it would become "a second Tuskegee—a torch to light the whole province." Its excellent work to the present is amply demonstrated in the personalities and competent work of many of its former pupils. Yet, judged by its total results, if not by the aims of the teachers, it has on the whole developed leading individuals rather than leaders, emphasized getting on and making a place for oneself, rather than getting back and helping one's people



## *Through the School Door*

in their struggle to adjust, stressed being a good Filipino as such, rather than what is perhaps its first requirement, being a good local citizen. So long as positions have been available for agricultural graduates to become clerks, teachers, nurses, treasurers, or other officials (up to 1930 not one La Trinidad graduate had gone on the land in the province as a homesteader), the results have not shown clearly, except perhaps in attitudes of self-satisfaction, certain personal rivalries and jealousies, and in most instances a tendency toward aloofness from things native. The future, however, is likely to reveal the real dangers and losses involved if such disruptive ideals and trends are not combated.

Historically, the problem of the maladjusted individual emerged quite early in the educational process. The provincial report for 1915, for instance, shows that teachers were giving it considerable thought. Schemes were afoot to adapt schooling to local realities by having agricultural and industrial subjects on the curriculum, maintaining school gardens in which pupils could grow and sell vegetables, encouraging local industries—wood-carving, basket-making, and pottery—and introducing new arts and crafts as a basis of money-getting. But already the idea that going back to the old communities would contaminate the pupils was strong. A plan was even drawn up to “establish settlements in the vicinity of the schools, with the idea that the schoolboys will marry the better-educated girls, build improved houses, and set an example to” (also, it may be added, keep apart from) “the surrounding population.”

Such an emphasis on agriculture and craft-work has continued since, so far as land and equipment have been available. At the lower grades it has proved valuable, especially as adapted by many teachers to the local conditions. Cooking for girls on a western stove, for instance, practised at first in some of the larger schools, has been

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

changed to cooking on the simple open stove-box widely used in the rural Philippines. Boys have learned to saw, make bricks, and use new tools and implements. Some who have left school now use as tradesmen their skill in such crafts. Weaving, lace-making, and some other industries introduced with enthusiasm earlier are, however, now languishing, due to the high cost of materials or lack of markets in these days of factory production.

Recently some graduates of La Trinidad and other institutions have accepted jobs on plantations in Mindanao, a result of efforts to place them by the vocational bureau of the department of education. Yet experience shows already that few are inclined to remain so far from home, though the establishment of small communities of such young mountaineers might help in this respect should it prove feasible. To pupils of the Baguio schools, the mines form a great attraction, and many are now employed there: Baguio has ever a pull on the educated mountaineer. During 1932 officials have watched with some degree of cynicism a handful of La Trinidad boys, seven in all, establish themselves at the agricultural colony of Gobgob, and on a proposed reserve at Chatol in Bontoc. Under changing economic conditions numbers of others will doubtless try themselves out in the same way. But how far they will have the patience and tenacity to remain in such isolated areas away from markets and the standards of living to which school days have accustomed them, surrendering more or less the hope of getting an official post, is yet to be seen.

Already a number of graduates have "reverted" to the native life, taking up their share of the family holdings, and more or less willingly fitting again into the round of activities prescribed by community tradition. The modifications in old custom that such former graduates who have advanced sufficiently to gain some insight into the new

## *Through the School Door*

ideals are able to achieve in the village life may seem insignificant to an observer, yet their influence is not to be despised. Viewed in the longer perspective of cultural change, their "careers," often sneered at to-day, may prove the most fraught with gain to the mountain communities, particularly if such individuals could be made to feel that what they are doing is not necessarily a backsliding to be ashamed of. Inevitably, however, their lot is a hard one.

Such a summary of the present results of higher schooling is not offered as destructive criticism, but as an urge to clearer thinking as to the end in view. No one would question the fact that advanced education must be continued in order to give opportunity for those most capable and interested, or whose parents are keen to reach the highest attainments open to Filipinos in general. The issue is rather as to whether, in a society thus in transition toward a hoped-for end of assimilation and in a land like the Philippines already glutted with aspirants to white-collar leadership, the system can afford to produce individuals severed from their locality and community roots; whether the intellectual and vocational marks of the school are sufficient to make good Filipino citizens out of personalities thus uprooted.

Where any group is called upon to make an extensive readjustment involving changes in traditional loyalties, ideals, and customs, there is a powerful force working to sever individuals from their social setting, to rupture continuity with the past, and weaken that main source of personal steadiness, the sense of group solidarity. Many influences tend to demoralize character at such times and to develop factionalism and unsocial conduct. Parents, customs, backgrounds, and neighbourhood associations are apt to be despised and regarded with shame as limiting factors from which to escape. It would seem, therefore, that the school would do better not to stimulate the

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

process unnecessarily, but rather to support and bulwark all that is worthy or harmless in native ways and traditions so as to minimize the break.

The fruits of individualism untempered by social responsibilities and loyalties are already in some measure appearing in the mountain setting: an exaggeratedly selfish struggle for personal advantage, instability, untrustworthiness, and emotional unbalance. There is need among ambitious young mountaineers for a sense of community responsibility, and for a challenge to Filipino patriotism that is expressed not in fine words but in local initiative and service.

Such qualities are already found among certain of the most educated individuals, including some who have been abroad. They are showing a pride in being mountaineers, and asserting a practical interest in the welfare of their people. Yet schooling in their cases seems to have played only an incidental part. Those in charge of higher education may well consider, therefore, whether the school and the teacher, besides training the mountain youth in things new, should not adopt a more positive role in stimulating a fair evaluation of things old. On the whole the mission bodies make this approach more than the government institutions, though some government teachers are seeking to do so. Its further emphasis might make for a more effective leadership, and a more ordered transition for those led. It would at least lessen the real dangers involved in loosing upon the mountain communities numbers of maladjusted and discontented individuals, bearing the imprint of the schools. Finally, it might prevent the loss of valuable elements in the mountain cultures that could enrich the Filipino national life of the future.

## CHAPTER X

### THE FUTURE OF THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLES

THIS study has dealt with a quarter million Filipinos in the making. As a result of widening contacts, and of a consistent policy of assimilation, these erstwhile head-hunters of the mountains are being brought into touch with the outside world.

From one aspect, the situation has a simplicity not found in many other native areas to-day. Whereas groups such as the African peoples, American Indians, Pacific Islanders, the Maori of New Zealand, the Australian Aborigines, and the Ainu of Japan are set over against peoples charged with their affairs who differ more or less greatly in race and culture, no such gulf separates the Philippine mountaineer from his lowland brethren. History shows that he is assimilable.

Where intermarriage takes place there is no serious *mestizo* problem. Many individuals, even large groups such as the Isinai and portions of the Tinggian and Gaddang, are well on the way toward disappearing into the general Ilocano *milieu* of northern Luzon. The problem is simply that the non-Christian still holds firm to a life akin to that crushed by the Spanish colonial system among the lowland Filipinos, and resists the various elements of Spanish, Christian, and American culture which the latter have acquired in varying degrees in its place.

Government policies and organization, too, are such as to avoid drawing hard-and-fast lines between the mountain peoples and the lowlanders. Special legislation exists for non-Christian areas from sheer necessity. Yet it is held to the minimum—perhaps in such matters as land laws and the school system too much so. In its form it can

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

readily be adjusted progressively to that existing elsewhere in the Philippines. The end of assimilation, made feasible by the above circumstances, stands out by contrast amid the rather confused or obscure aims of colonial administration in most comparable areas to-day, where such policies are of necessity being greatly modified in view of the unwillingness of the majority or ruling people to give anything like equal status or to intermarry freely with the native who is culturally ready to be assimilated, and by movements on the part of the native groups for racial or political self-determination.

From another aspect, however, the mountain situation and that of other large non-Christian groups in the Philippines is anything but simple, especially in the more immediate perspective. The first enthusiastic efforts to bring about assimilation that followed the establishment of peace and order dashed, with little effect, against conservatism, indifference, and the omnipotence of the local loyalties. The existence of an undoubted gulf between mountaineer and lowlander produced by environmental, cultural, and historical circumstances has had to be recognized. Even though ultimately bridgeable, this defies quick engineering.

Indeed at the present time the mountain experiment has reached a rather delicate stage. The first ready acceptance of American-Filipino domination, so marked by contrast to the attitude towards Spanish rule, and the willing submission to official discipline, is tending to wear off, other than in the extreme frontier areas such as Apayao and Kalinga. Familiarity is breeding a certain laxity, if not something of disillusion. Frictions inevitably arise between officials and the people, that have a cumulative effect. Internal stresses are becoming marked in the course of an inevitable struggle between conservatives and progressives, especially the resentment by age of schooled

## *The Future of the Mountain Peoples*

youth's less meticulous observance of ancestral custom. Educated individuals, seared by experiences, real or imaginary, of discrimination against them by lowlanders, and stirred by aspirations to leadership now in the hands of outsiders, are commencing to desire cultural autonomy and to assert a mountain identity. The machine of higher education is turning out ever increasing numbers of youth for whom there is no satisfactory place, and discontent is beginning to stir.

This modern disturbance to the smooth course of the assimilative process really has two main aspects, originating respectively in the traditional cultures and in the new experiences.

On the one hand the old order is by no means dead. Any relaxation of the present system of firm control, the establishment of which has been one of the most remarkable achievements of modern native administration even in the world setting, undue pressure on the part of the authorities, or the rise of some aggressive or reactionary religious cult, might precipitate local outbreaks, or at least destroy the gains to date in confidence and discipline. Indeed this might even occur through the neglect of conflicts such as exist over mining claims and along the fringe of lowland penetration in Apayao and Kalinga. Any extensive government retrenchment might well bring a reversion to the old days of feuds and fighting throughout the whole province other than in southern Benguet. That this is no scare judgment is borne out by the fact that veteran missionaries assert emphatically that even centres where their work is most entrenched and successful would relapse into defensive and retaliative warfare should such matters as adequate official staffing, constabulary control, and the telephone and roading system be seriously neglected. Under modern conditions where trails and intercourse have increased familiarity with the territories of former

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

foes, and opened up new means of carrying on warfare, any outbreaks might prove a serious matter, particularly should semi-educated leaders be involved. At all costs therefore the gains of pacification must be held until the tenacious headhunting mentality is submerged. In parts, this will require at least the passing of all those now alive, both old and young—some would even say up to three generations more. Since there does not seem a great prospect of those informal instruments of civilization, roads, being cut into the areas now isolated, the government may have to wait largely on the work of the schools and missions to consolidate cultural advances in many regions.

On the other hand, while the old heritage is thus still tending to assert itself, an almost equally crucial situation is developing as a result of wider contacts, already noted as showing especially among young people trained in the higher schools. The economic and educational features of this need not be reiterated except to stress the fact that they need searching study. From the political angle, however, a vital question is involved—how the Filipino is to view the trend toward cultural autonomy stirring among the educated few.

The aim of assimilation was described as clear-cut, and so it is when regarded from the viewpoint of Filipino nationalism. The mountaineer must be made a fully participating Filipino citizen. But, more closely analysed, the word "assimilation" is obscure. The lowland Filipino of to-day is deeply rooted in local backgrounds and loyalties; he is Tagalog, Ilocano, or the like. This does not make him any less a Filipino; indeed there is as yet little "Filipino" culture as distinct from such localisms, and the latter are regarded by most Filipinos as in the main harmless, enriching, and interesting variations, not at all subversive of the ideal of national solidarity. Those who have steadily defined the future of the non-Christian as assimilation have



## *The Future of the Mountain Peoples*

failed to specify with any clearness what local kind of Filipino they want to make him.

At the present, the circumstances of informal intercourse with the wider world have tended to "Ilocanize" the mountain peoples. But where in Pangasinan and the Cagayan valley the original peoples are being more or less completely dominated and overwhelmed by Ilocano culture, this process has been strictly limited in the mountain areas. Marginal families and individuals have taken over very largely the ways of Ilocos, starting indeed from early Spanish times. But just as hard environmental conditions have restricted the upflow of Ilocano settlement into the mountains, so native conservatism has excluded everything except what it needed from the lowland patterns of life. Indeed, if the lowland culture were adopted unreservedly at the present time, those people not able to subsist in secondary occupations would for the most part have to migrate to non-mountain areas.

Now come a sprinkling of educated mountain youth who feel intensely that the mountain peoples are worthy of a better destiny than to be absorbed passively and piecemeal into Ilocos. They envision a mountain organization in which at least a large proportion of the present mountain communities will be included: a Mountain Province that is more than a configuration of officially fixed boundaries. Such sentiments, however, are rarely produced in the open as yet, since the educated mountaineer is afraid that he will be branded as a "separatist," a traitor to the cause of assimilation, an unpatriotic Filipino, or even an agitator, and hence be out of favour with the authorities and an object of suspicion among lowland Filipinos.

To the writers this matter demands clear thinking and much sympathy. It may be that the race between gradual Ilocanization and its almost certain corollary of attraction away from the mountain areas on the one hand, and the

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

spread of an effective sense of mountain identity and of an adapted and modernized mountain culture on the other, will inevitable be won by the former. If so it will be due mainly to community conservatism and the maintenance of old attitudes and enmities among the mountain folk, combined with the individualistic education of the more progressive young people. The future has yet to unfold its tale of order or disorder, protection or pressure, and of the role of educated youth, before this can be even surmised. Yet at least the stir of "mountainism" should be rightly understood.

Already it has been pointed out that what is now going on in the mountain region is somewhat parallel to the story of modern Filipino nationalism, except that it has no aspiration for territorial separation. The mountain youth who think in this way want to be Mountain-Filipinos, having a fair balance of local and national loyalties like those of an Ilocano-Filipino or a Manila-Filipino. Their desire is not to become "assimilated" to a Filipino life which has no actuality, nor to become a poor imitation of an Ilocano without roots in Ilocos, but rather to bring about the *cultural harmonizing* of mountain life with the wider values of Filipinism. At least some consider that everything native is not to be rejected as pagan. The local ties and community co-operation, for instance, are to them a worthwhile heritage; the agricultural system is an achievement of which to be proud.

Apart from the emotional, artistic, and spiritual values inherent in this mountain sentiment, it would seem that its encouragement is the only alternative to a gradual breakdown of the mountain system of life and agriculture. So long as settlements are prevented by isolation and other environmental factors from participating extensively in new activities, any influence that destroys, makes for attitudes of shame towards, or stimulates ambition away from

## *The Future of the Mountain Peoples*

the old system in any marked degree, cannot but be deculturizing, disruptive of personal and group happiness and integration. Whatever the future adjustments (which will of course continue slowly), pride, self-respect, and "interest in life" must as far as possible be safeguarded.

While, too, increasing numbers of the mountain people will travel to the rest of the Philippines and aspire to positions in the wider national life, it would seem to the writers a poor economy of land-utilization to make circumstances such as to stimulate any undue trend of population away from the region, other than as required to relieve the pressure of increasing numbers and of crowded valleys. The extreme conservatism of the mountaineer is, of course, a potent factor in preventing any sudden disorganization of the native life. But as such it is largely a manifestation of those now adult, and only to a certain point does it affect youth. Among the latter, especially the more educated who are in a position to be real leaders if they choose to assert themselves other than in their own personal affairs, the attitude to things native is of great significance. A spirit on their part of proud and active mountain identity, a sense of responsibility to their people, and of unity of purpose with fellow-educated mountaineers, possibly emerging in some form of organization, would prove invaluable aids in bulwarking the mountain-folk amid the increasingly stormy seas of transition.

It is quite comprehensible why, on the whole, the lowland Filipinos have feared such a mountain consciousness, whether coming from natives themselves or from American officials. In earlier days it did seem possible that a cult of localism might cause the non-Christian to develop away from the Christian Filipino rather than in the direction of assimilation. The present sentiment, however, is emerging among individuals who are already fully assimilated in the political sense. Never did the writers encounter an idea

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

that could be even remotely construed as indicating separatism of the kind considered dangerous earlier. At most, its political aspect so far as such exists is directed toward bringing the leadership of the Mountain Province more into mountaineer hands. True, a characteristic of such situations is a swinging toward extremes, but this is rather more liable to occur if the present normal and healthy sentiment just awakening is suppressed. There are, and will be heard, criticisms on the grounds that the lowlanders hold too many jobs in the Mountain Province organization that could be as efficiently managed by natives; resentment is shown on account of the attitudes of many lowlanders toward the pagan; and wrongs real or fancied get bandied about. These, however, are present inevitably, and will doubtless be magnified as maladjustment increases. That they could ever emerge into a movement for territorial partition is so remote that it can be dismissed.

Observations in other native areas, and in the larger Philippine setting itself, would seem to indicate that it is in the normal cycle of culture transition for such a sense of wider identity and a desire for some form of autonomy to stir in this way: a manifestation of cultural nationalism. Thwarted or suppressed, as it usually is, it tends to become unhealthily introverted, or else finds outlet in explosive or destructive form. Sympathetically directed, it becomes one of the most remarkable instruments of successful transition and education.

The plea here made for a better understanding of the minds of the mountain youth may be summarized by saying that the real task is to strike a balance between encouraging an exercise of local pride and self-respect and fostering the sense of national solidarity. Careful study may reveal them not as incompatible, but rather as indispensable complements. At least the former may be an

## *The Future of the Mountain Peoples*

inevitable way-station in the process of ultimate absorption within the general Ilocos-Tagalog cultures of Luzon. Unnecessary opposition to it may mean a lapse into forms of discontent, intrigue, and agitation among the mountain intelligentsia by no means absent throughout the colonial world to-day and exceedingly difficult to grapple with, due to their almost pathological character.

A practical issue involved with this matter is whether the mountain province should be kept as a unit, or progressively combined with the surrounding regular provinces. The special requirements of non-Christian administration, and the need for a trained staff to deal with their peculiar problems, would certainly indicate that the present system is best, at least for a long time. The recent proposal to separate Benguet from the rest of the province (page 130) would, in the writers' opinion, be a premature move. The two municipal districts where the bulk of non-native investments and population are centred, Itogon and La Trinidad, could feasibly be transferred for purposes of administration to the city of Baguio. But the great number of the Ibaloi and Kankanai peoples are just as conservative and uninformed on political matters as their fellows to the north. Being the more accessible to non-natives, they also need the greater protection. Such a municipal district as Luna in Apayao, however, where Ilocanos now predominate, could perhaps be given the right to attach itself to Cagayan if it so desired. The general principle of carving off piecemeal sections of the special provinces where their peoples are considered advanced enough to be attached to neighbouring Christian provinces is, however, a poor one, fraught with the probability of degeneration for the non-Christian. A more effective form of Filipino citizenship can be expected to develop among the mountaineers should Ifugao communities, for instance, learn gradually to manage their affairs in equal association with those of

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

Kalinga and the other mountain groups, than if they are allowed to become backward and more or less ignored and neglected country cousins of Nueva Vizcayan Christian settlements—a fact clearly demonstrated by past history.

The whole mountain experiment in administration may be summarized as having been very successful to the present. The Spaniards did the rough blocking out of the problem. Americans obtained the first spectacular results. To the Filipinos, acting with the handful of remaining Americans and assisted by the mountain missions, is left the patient and difficult task of carrying their work through the oncoming generations to a successful finale of political competence, of cultural stability, and of advancement in modern ways approximately equal to that of the Philippine peasantry elsewhere.

If, as has often been suggested, one of the most severe tests of the cultural advancement of a people is their treatment of less civilized minority groups, then the Filipino people of recent years have stood that test, under American supervision, with very fair credit—at least when measured not against the ideal but against comparable situations elsewhere. Friends of the Filipino hope that they will continue to meet that test if American supervision is removed. To do so, however, will require a constant fight against the forces working for exploitation, neglect, bigotry, the subversion of justice, and the undermining of official integrity. Even more than under the present regime, when a distant and fairly disinterested authority is exercising supervision, the non-Christian people will then need wise and unselfish champions and defenders who will never relax a vigilant guard over their affairs. If present policies and standards are maintained, each decade will see a marked advance toward ultimate Filipinization. But any set-back may interrupt that progress, and produce difficul-

## *The Future of the Mountain Peoples*

ties that will not only hold up the further advance perhaps for long, but will be a heavy cost to the Philippine people probably in lives, certainly in money and reputation. The situation is one of increasing delicacy that will make heavy demands on a young nation.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### OFFICIAL SOURCES

- Report of the Philippine (Schurman) Commission of 1900 (4 volumes). Washington, 1900. Especially vol. 3, pp. 10-38.
- Taft Commission Report. Washington, 1900.
- Annual Reports of the Philippine Commission, 1900-15. Particularly to 1908, these have very full information.
- Annual Reports of the Governor-General of the Philippines.
- Annual Reports of the Auditor of the Philippine Islands (gives the financial position of the Mountain Province).
- Annual Reports of the Provincial Governor (typescript).
- Annual Reports of the Deputy-Governors for the Sub-Provinces (typescript).
- Monthly Narrative Reports of the Provincial Governor and Deputy-Governors (typescript).
- Annual Reports on Health, Education, etc. (typescript).
- Circulars of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (typescript).
- Minutes and Resolutions of the Provincial Board of the Mountain Province (typescript).
- Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903 and 1918.
- Bureau of Education: Economic Survey Report. Manila, 1929.
- Joint Legislative Committee: Report on Education. Manila, 1926.
- Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands, 1928.

### UNOFFICIAL SOURCES

- ALTAVAS, E.: Land Registration in the Philippine Islands. Manila, 1923.
- ARENATA, G.: The Administrative Code of 1917, with Comments and Annotations. Manila, 1929.
- BARROWS, D. P.: A Preliminary Report on Explorations. . . . Manila, 1903. In the Beyer Collection, History and Ethnography of the Igorot People, vol. 4, paper 12; also other reports in the same collection.



## Bibliography

- BARTON, R. F.: Ifugao Law. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 15, No. 1. Berkeley, 1919.
- Ifugao Economics. *Idem*, vol. 15, No. 5, 1922.
- The Halfway Sun. New York, 1930.
- BELGIAN MISSION: The Little Apostle of the Mountain Province. (Monthly publication, containing much of interest and some important ethnological data.)
- BEYER, H. O.: Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916. Manila, 1917.
- The Non-Christian People of the Philippines. Manila, 1921.
- The Philippines before Magellan. Asia, vol. 21, 1921.
- Origin Myths from the Philippine Mountain Peoples. Philippine Journal of Science, viii, 2 (1912).
- A Tabular History of the Philippine Population (typescript).
- Collection of Papers on Philippine Ethnology. (This now runs to many volumes of manuscripts and is being added to continually. Each ethnic area is treated in a separate series, and the whole represents the best source material available for the study of Philippine racial and cultural backgrounds.)
- BLAIR, E. H., and ROBERTSON, J. A.: The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803 (55 volumes). Cleveland, 1903-09. (Translations from the early Spanish sources.)
- CHRISTIE, E. B.: Notes on Iloko Ethnography and History. Manila, 1914. Paper 392, vol. 10, Beyer Collection on Philippine Folklore, Social Customs and Beliefs.
- COLE, F. C.: The Tinguian. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, vol. 14, No. 2. Chicago, 1922.
- Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of North-western Luzon. American Anthropologist, vol. xi, p. 329.
- EARLY, J. C.: Mountain Province . . . in Manila Daily Bulletin, February 1, 1929. (This is a revised extract from his report as provincial governor, and is the best short summary extant of the mountain peoples and their modern life.)
- ELLIOTT, C. B.: The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government. Indianapolis, 1917.

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

- FOLKMAR, D.: Social Institutions of the Tinglayan Igorot. Manila, 1906. Paper 7 in the Beyer Collection, Bontok, vol. iv.
- FORBES, W. CAMERON: The Philippine Islands (2 volumes). New York, 1928.
- GAERLAN, J.: A Brief History of an Uprising in Bontoc, etc., 1881. (Typed manuscript recorded and translated by a former deputy-governor, whose father was an official at the time.)
- GUEVARA, G. B.: Commentaries on the Revised Penal Code of the Philippine Islands. Manila, 1931.
- HARRISON, F. B.: The Hill Tribes of Luzon, in *The Corner-Stone of Independence*. New York, 1922.
- HOLLEMAN, F. D., and BEYER, H. O.: Philippine Customary Law. (Source materials in 10 typescript volumes. Manila, 1931.)
- JENKS, A. E.: The Bontoc Igorot. Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. I. Manila, 1905.
- KAMORA, H. A.: Why the Sub-Province of Benguet Should be Made a Separate Specially Organized Province. Manila, 1932.
- KROEBER, A. L.: Peoples of the Philippines. Handbook of the American Museum of Natural History, No. 8. New York, 1919.
- Anthropology of the Philippines. *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, March, 1932.
- LE ROY, J. A.: Americans in the Philippines (2 volumes). Boston, 1914.
- MACARAIG, S. E.: Social Problems. Manila, 1929.
- MALUMBRES, FATHER J.: Histories of Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya. Manila. (In Spanish, but partially translated in the Beyer Collection.)
- MEYER, H.: Die Igorroten. Appendix of *Eine Weltreise*, Leipzig, 1885.
- MILLER, H. H.: Economic Conditions in the Philippines. New York, 1920.
- MONROE, P.: A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands. Manila, 1925.

## *Bibliography*

- MOSS, C. R.: Nabaloi Law and Ritual. Univ. of Cal. Pubs. in Am. Arch. and Eth., vol. 15, No. 3, 1920.  
Kankanay Ceremonies. *Idem*, No. 4, 1920.
- PEREZ, A.: Igorrotes. Manila, 1900. (This, written in Spanish, has been partly translated under Dr. H. O. Beyer's direction.)
- ROBERTSON, J. A.: The Igorots of Lepanto. Manila, 1914.
- SAWYER, F. H.: The Inhabitants of the Philippines. New York, 1900.
- SCHEERER, O.: Igorrotes of Benguet. Paper in Taft Commission Report, 1900, pp. 149-58.  
The Nabaloi Dialect. Ethnological Survey Publications. Manila, 1905.
- SEIDENADEL, C. W.: The Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot. Chicago, 1909.
- WORCESTER, D. C.: The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon. Philippine Journal of Science, October, 1906.  
Headhunters of Northern Luzon. National Geographic Magazine, vol. 23, 1912.
- WORCESTER, D. C., and HAYDEN, R.: The Philippines Past and Present (2 volumes). New York, 1930.

# INDEX

- Abra, 68, 76, 207, 209, 248  
 Administrative code (1917), 98, 100, 105, 238  
 Aglipayan church, 81, 231, 233  
 Agriculture: native, 19, 38, 45, 55-9, 80-1, 87-8, 160-1, 165, 166, 186-201; and education, 244, 248, 249-51, 255, 265; future of, 218-24, 274-5; government stimulation of, 210-15; non-native, 80, 94, 122, 161-2.  
 Aguinaldo, 74  
 Amburayan, 39, 46-53, 59, 69, 71, 74, 134  
 Apayao: area, 84; government, 105; historical, 10-11, 69, 70, 77, 79, 82-3; land conflicts in, 183-4; missions in, 228; population, 86-7; settlement of, 162, 173-80, 219; *see* Isneg  
 Assimilation: aim of, 16-17, 32-3, 97, 118, 224, 254, 267, 269-70; prospects of, 124-31, 133-4, 158, 219, 225; the term obscure, 272-3  
 Ato, *At-ato*, 47-50, 113-14, 194  
 Baguio: established, 79, 163; influence of, 79, 125, 133, 140, 157, 201, 206, 207, 208, 212, 231, 247; school centre, 247-9, 266; separate government, 94, 122  
*Baknang* system, 57-8, 108-9, 189, 196, 198-202, 221; and government, 111-15, 125, 143-4, 157; and land, 166, 169-70, 173, 178  
 Barrows, D. P., 38, 74, 163, 243  
 Belgian Mission (Catholic), 82, 89, 211, 226, 249  
 Benguet sub-province: area, 84; communications in, 219; government, 104-5; history, 67-82; land settlement in, 178-9; missions in, 228; population of, 92-4; separation of, 130, 227  
 Beyer, H. Otley, 25, 30, 38, 42, 43, 47, 54, 55, 90, 96, 282  
 Bontoc, 39, 89-91; ethnology and race, 46-53, 56, 58-9, 144, 188-91, 195, 202-4, 206, 222, 238-9; historical, 63, 66-71, 74, 78; and land, 169, 214-15; and missions, 228, 230, 232; and modern government, 112-15, 126, 129; and public order, 133-5, 156-7; and schooling, 244, 246-7, 250, 261  
 Bontoc sub-province: area, 84; government of, 104-5; history, 67-82; population, 89, 91; settlement in, 162, 174-9  
 Boundary: disputes, 83; readjustments, 76-7, 82-4.  
 Bureau of Lands, 160, 168, 169, 176, 179, 183  
 Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes: early, 31, 74, 163, 243; new, 31, 85, 98, 100, 104, 107, 112, 116, 121-2, 126, 127, 217; aim of, 32, 100; constitution, 99-100; and education, 249, 254; and land, 167, 171-2, 176-80  
 Burial of dead, 143, 202, 238-9  
 Caciquism, 22, 57, 198, 200-1, 264  
 Cagayan: province, 65, 66, 69, 75, 77, 83, 86-7, 175, 217, 277; valley, 34-5, 44, 46, 161, 174, 207, 208, 273  
*Camote* (sweet-potato), 56-7, 187, 190, 193, 195  
*Cañao*, 139, 196-200, 213, 219, 227, 230, 234, 237-40  
 Cariño case, 164-5, 182  
 Cervantes, 34, 80, 82-3, 92, 123, 129, 183, 207; established, 69-70, 162, 243  
 Chinese: early commerce, 25, 200, 204-5; influence of, 60; labourers, 67; as settlers, 80, 90-5, 207  
 Clothing, 45, 203, 206, 208, 229-30  
 Coffee, 70, 74, 162, 210, 212-13; future of, 220-1

# Index

- Commerce: native, 62, 64-5, 72, 80-1, 186, 201-10, 223-4; non-native, 70-2, 79-81, 201-10; statistics of, 209-10
- Communications: modern, 78, 133-4, 186, 201, 203, 219, 271-2; in Spanish times, 68, 72
- Conservatism, 70, 80, 109, 125-6, 190, 212, 226, 238-41, 270, 274-8
- Constabulary, 77-9, 116, 133-4, 138-9
- Copper, 67, 162
- Councils of elders, 47, 48, 53, 112-14, 142
- Court of first instance, 153-6
- Craftwork: native, 45, 52-3, 58, 60, 201-4; in schools, 265-6
- Crime: detection of, 139-40; incidence of, 133-6, 156-9
- Customary law, 28, 51, 140-3, 170, 182; and the modern law, 142 ff.; need for studying, 149-51
- Department of the Interior, 31, 98, 99
- Depopulation, 19, 186, 192, 197, 224
- Economics, Chapter VII: and education, 18, 244, 248-51, 255, 265; and population increase, 88, 185; stimulation of, 80-1, 207-8, 210-15, 227; *see* Agriculture, Commerce, Land, etc.
- Education, Chapter IX: policies, 16-17, 28, 243-4; higher, 262-8, 271; results, 186, 254-68; and standards of living, 19; *see* Language, Schooling.
- Elections, 101, 109-10, 126
- Episcopal mission (Protestant, American), 82, 112, 226, 236, 249
- Finance: provincial, 101-2, 107, 119-22; subsidies, 19, 81, 98
- Fiscal, 100, 146, 153
- Forbes, W. Cameron, 12, 283.
- Forestry: Bureau of, 179, 217, 223; control, 216-18; *see* Timber
- Formosa, 23, 44, 46, 47, 55
- Gaddang, 41, 89, 91-2; ethnology and race, 43, 44, 60, 144, 203, 207, 217; historical, 64, 71, 175, 214
- Gobgob colony, 215, 266
- Gold mining, 62, 79, 163, 202, 208, 210, 222-3; and labour, 92, 122, 201, 208, 266
- Governor-General, 31, 32, 97, 100, 108, 116, 126, 183
- Guardia de Honor*, 81, 231-2
- Headhunting, 45, 48, 52, 53, 62, 71, 79, 112, 126, 133-5, 194, 230
- Health: conditions, 192, 233-4; and education, 18, 257, 259; government work relating to, 98, 107, 116, 188, 219, 227, 233-41; *see* Sickness
- Homesteading, 160, 171, 174-80
- Housing, 45, 50, 51, 53, 203
- Hunting laws, 217-18
- Ibaloi (Nabaloi), 39, 92-4; ethnology and race, 44, 53, 58, 189, 195, 199-200, 203, 206-8, 256, 277; historical, 63, 66, 163-4, 238; and land, 163-4, 168-9; migration of, 174; and modern government, 111-15, 125; and schooling, 243-7; *see* Benguet
- Ibanag, 47, 59, 63, 255
- Ifugao, 39, 89-90; ethnology and race, 51, 57, 187, 189-90, 202-3, 206, 208, 238; historical, 63, 66-71, 74, 77-8; and modern government, 113-15, 125, 134, 157; resettlement, 214; and schooling, 246-7
- Ifugao sub-province: area, 84; government of, 105; history, 67-82; missions in, 228, 230; population, 89-90; settlement of, 162, 174-9, 219
- Igorot, 41, 65, 66, 83, 129-30
- Ilocano, 23, 55, 63-4, 66; influences, 59, 129-31, 197-8, 243, 269, 273; migration of, 75-6, 83, 87, 89, 94, 123, 162, 170, 175, 207-8, 210, 215, 224, 273, 277; speech, 243, 255-7, 259

# Taming Philippine Headhunters

- Ilocos, 10, 34, 65, 69, 74-5, 206, 209, 251, 273; Norte province, 66, 75, 86, 87, 207, 246; Sur province, 65, 75, 76, 77, 82, 92, 94, 197
- Ilongot, 40, 44
- Independence, 16, 27; mountaineers and, 29, 126-7
- India, 22, 44, 60
- Indonesians, 43-56
- Irrigation, 165, 186, 193, 219
- Isabela province, 34, 66, 69, 75, 77, 83, 88, 92, 175, 179, 207, 217, 246
- Isinai, 40, 64, 66, 202, 269
- Isneg (Apayao), 41, 86-7; ethnology and race, 44-6, 52, 144, 187, 189, 201, 203, 205, 207, 234; history, 64-71, 77, 79, 238; and land, 178, 184, 214; and missions, 232; and modern government, 112, 125, 135, 156; and schooling, 246-7, 250-2
- Itavi, 40, 64, 65, 255
- Japanese: early commerce, 25, 62; influences, 22, 60; settlers, 80, 90-5, 173, 207, 208
- Jenks, A. E., 38, 48-9, 283
- Jones Act, 31, 32, 82, 98, 144
- Judicial system: critique, 158-9; extra-judicial proceedings, 147-51, 155, 158-9, 164; native, 147-8, 167; Spanish, 68; to-day, 28, 132, 151-6
- Justices of the peace, 146, 152; courts, 151
- Kaingin* agriculture, 38, 45, 57, 58, 87, 88, 94, 121, 160, 166, 173, 174, 177, 186, 189, 193, 218
- Kalinga, 41, 87-8; ethnology and race, 44, 53, 58, 59, 60, 144, 187, 189, 195, 202-5, 207, 233; historical, 64-71, 74, 77, 215; and missions, 228, 230, 232; and modern government, 112-15, 126, 134-5, 156, 238; and schooling, 246-7, 250, 252, 253
- Kalinga sub-province: area, 84; government, 105; historical, 77-82; land conflicts in, 183-4; population, 87-9; settlement in, 162, 174-9, 219
- Kankanai, 39, 92-4; ethnology and race, 53, 58, 189, 195, 277; migration of, 174, 208; and modern government, 111; and schooling, 243-7; *see* Benguet
- Land, Chapter VI: acts (public), 163, 164, 167, 176-7, 181; declaration, 110, 170; disputes, 110, 149, 182-4; settlement, 175-80; taxation, 120-1, 170, 178; transfers, 171-4; utilization, 220-2
- Language problem, 28, 243, 254-8, 260
- La Union province, 71, 75, 77, 82, 94, 197
- Laws, special for non-Christians, 32, 132-3, 136-7, 152, 158, 216-18, 238-9, 269-70; *see* Judicial
- Lepanto, 39, 89, 91; ethnology and race, 46-53, 56, 58-9, 144, 192-5, 197, 202-5, 207-9, 238-9; historical, 63, 65-71; and missions, 228-9, 231-2; and modern government, 113-15, 125, 134, 156; and schooling, 243-7
- Lumauig, 56, 199, 232
- Maengol*, 45, 112, 135
- Malaria, 34, 63, 70, 87, 88, 162, 214, 233, 240
- Malayans, 54-9
- Maori, 198, 221, 232, 269
- Marriage, 19, 45, 50-1, 141, 143-7, 173, 227, 229
- Mestizo*, 22, 28, 269
- Metal working, 60, 202
- Mindanao, 21, 25, 45, 60, 94, 181, 233, 266; and Sulu, Code of, 104-5, 108, 152, 172; Department of, 31, 100
- Minerals: claims to, 160, 162, 180-2; laws regarding, 181-2; working of, 173, 222-3; *see* Gold mining
- Missions: modern, 81-2, 122, 226-31, 268; Spanish, 25, 35, 63-6, 68, 74, 162, 226
- Monogamy, 51, 144

# Index

- Moros, 21, 26, 30, 60, 64, 129, 143, 144
- Mountain province: area, 84; formation, 76-7, 82-3; government, Chapter IV; population, 84-96; possible future unity, 273-8
- Municipal district government, 98, 101-15; 123
- Nabaloi: *see* Ibaloi
- Negritos, 42-3, 64, 69, 77, 86-7, 156, 207, 217; settlement of, 174, 184, 214; and education, 260-1; *see* Pigmies
- Non-Christians: aims for dealing with, 32; definition of, 12-13; relations with Christians, 18, 73, 83, 128-9, 237, 271; in land matters, 161-2, 171-3, 183-4; as a special problem, 29-33
- Nueva Vizcaya, 63, 66, 69, 75-7, 94, 99, 174-5, 202, 206, 217, 278
- Oceania, 44, 47, 53, 55
- Omens, 59, 113, 140-3, 190, 194-7
- Ordeal, 147-8
- Organic Act (1902), 162, 165
- Pangasinan province, 23, 34, 55, 59, 63, 71, 75, 161, 197, 206, 209, 252, 256, 273
- Peace pacts, 80, 137-8
- Personnel, 19, 98, 101-3, 115-19, 248, 251-2; Filipinization of, 32, 82, 116; mountaineers among, 82, 101, 103-16, 118, 236, 248, 252-3, 276
- Philippine: Commission, 30-1, 76, 81, 98; legislature, 30, 98-9, 123, 130, 184
- Pigmies, 21, 38, 41-3, 46, 189; *see* Negritos
- Political system: native, 38-9, 45, 47-9, 53; native in relation to modern government, 108-15, 124-6; status of Christians, 122-3; *see* Chapter IV
- Polygamy, 45, 144-5
- Polynesians, 44, 47, 53
- Porcelain and pottery (precious jars), 60, 144, 173, 202, 204-6
- Presidente*, 68, 73, 103-15, 122
- Prisons: modern, 153, 155; Spanish, 68
- Provincial board, 100-3, 107, 110, 122, 247
- Provincial government, 76-7, 98, 100-3
- Religion: native, 45, 48, 53, 58-9, 113, 140-3, 161, 190, 194-8, 226-8, 234; *see* Missions
- Revolution (Philippine), 26, 72-4
- Rice terracing, 21, 38, 55-7, 160, 166, 186-7, 192-3, 214
- Rizal, 127, 132
- Sapalada, 81, 231-2
- Scholarships, 122, 249
- Schooling: aim, 18, 28, 227; attendance, 110, 135, 193, 245, 248, 260-1; compulsion, 245-6; curricula, 127, 211, 212, 235, 238, 243, 250-1, 256-60, 265; organization, 107-8, 242-54; results, 254-68; Spanish, 70, 73, 242-3; *see* Education, Language
- Segregation of youth for sleeping, 50, 53, 228-9
- Self-government, 97, 103-15, 274-8
- Sickness, native ideas of, 58-9, 140-1 195-8, 234, 237; *see* Health
- Social organization, 45, 47-53, 141; and modern government, 111-15, 124-6
- Spanish regime, 15, 25, 26, 30, 32, 62-73, 162; critique of, 72-3
- Staff: *see* Personnel
- Standards of living, 16, 19, 28, Chapter IV
- Stock-raising, 187-8, 211, 212, 213, 219, 222
- Stonework, 46, 48, 53, 55
- Supreme Court: of Philippines, 145-6, 155, 182-3; of United States, 156, 164, 182
- Tagalog, 23, 67, 129, 272; speech, 256, 259

## *Taming Philippine Headhunters*

- Taro, 55-7, 187  
Taxation, 21, 68, 72, 81, 102, 107, 110, 119-21, 170, 178  
Timber, 79, 208, 210, 216-18, 223  
Tinggian, 39, 45, 54, 57, 59, 64, 65, 66, 215, 248, 269  
Township government, 76, 103-4; courts, 104, 151  
Visayan, 23, 129; speech, 256, 259  
Vital statistics, 84, 106
- Water rights, 110, 160; disputed, 167  
Women, status of, 51, 53, 144, 191-2  
Worcester, D. C., 31, 38, 76, 77, 78, 284  
Youth: attitudes of, to things native, 113-14, 254, 262-4, 267, 270-1; and the economic future, 219, 224, 264; and politics, 127-30; results of schooling upon, 254-68





